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SEASONAL FARMWORKER POWERLESSNESS

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

JULY 24, 1970

PART 8–C

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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Part 2 : The Migrant Subculture	July 28, 1969.
Part 3–A : Efforts To Organize	July 15, 1969.
Part 3–B : Efforts To Organize	July 16 and 17, 1969.
Part 4–A : Farmworker Legal Problems	Aug. 7, 1969.
Part 4–B : Farmworker Legal Problems	Aug. 8, 1969.
Part 5–A : Border Commuter Labor Problem	May 21, 1969
Part 5–B : Border Commuter Labor Problem	May 22, 1969
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MIGRANT AND SEASONAL FARMWORKER POWERLESSNESS

(Who Is Responsible?)

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1970

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR & PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to recess, in room 318 (Caucus Room), Old Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale (presiding), Saxbe and Schweiker.

Staff member present: Boren Chertkov, counsel to the subcommittee.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order.

Before proceeding further, I would like to place in the record a series of newspaper accounts and statements that preceded the calling of today's hearing.

(The information referred to follows:)

[From Press Department, National Broadcasting Co., New York, N.Y., Mar. 26, 1970]

NBC NEWS SPECIAL TO SHOW MIGRANT WORKERS' PLIGHT UNCHANGED IN DECADE; CHET HUNTLEY WILL BE THE REPORTER, MARTIN CARR THE PRODUCER-DIRECTOR

Ten years ago CBS News presented "Harvest of Shame," an award-winning special television program examining the conditions of poverty, disease and servitude under which migrant workers were forced to live in the United States. This program, reported by the late Edward R. Murrow, was one of the finest documentaries ever produced for television, according to Reuven Frank, President of NBC News. It won many awards; it stimulated many calls for action.

NBC News will show in a one-hour television special that the plight of migrant workers remains virtually the same today. Although obvious remedies for improving living and working conditions and raising health standards were evident a decade ago, few of these remedies have been carried out.

The NBC News special will be colorcast on the NBC Television Network in late June of this year. NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley will be the reporter. The program will be produced and directed by Martin Carr, winner of numerous awards for his television documentaries.

Migrant workers are still living in substandard housing and are being treated in many places not as well as many slaves were treated in the 19th century, according to Mr. Carr.

Mr. Carr's "Hunger in America," which was broadcast on the CBS–TV Network on May 21, 1968, and repeated a few weeks later, won an Emmy Award, a George Foster Peabody Award, Critics' Consensus honors, and a Writers Guild of America Award. His "Gaugin in Tahiti" the previous year received two Emmy Awards.

CREDITS FOR 'MIGRANT—AN NBC WHITE PAPER,' AN NBC NEWS COLOR SPECIAL

Time: NBC Television Network colorcast, Thursday, July 16 (7:30–8:30 p.m. NYT, preempting "Daniel Boone").
Description: A one-hour NBC News special documentary concentrating on living and working conditions of the migrant workers in Florida. The colorcast will also present the views of landowners and local officials.
Producer-director: Martin Carr.
Correspondent: Chet Huntley.
Associate producer: Marilyn Nissenson.
Writers: Martin Carr, Marilyn Nissenson.
Production coordinator: Peter Freedberger.
Film editors: Darold Murray, Mary Ann Martin.
Cameraman: Jim Norling.
Sound: Al Hoagland.
Unit manager: Paul Shinefeld.
NBC Press representative: Hazel Hardy (New York).

[From the Palm Beach Times, West Palm Beach, Fla., Apr. 15, 1970]

RLS To Probe Office Use

UTILIZED BY NBC CREW

(By Iznachman, Times bureau chief)

Belle Glade—Why a National Broadcasting Company television camera crew was utilizing the offices of the Florida Rural Legal Services, Inc., 132 SW Ave. B., as a headquarters here Tuesday will be investigated by the board of directors of that federally-funded organization.

George H. Wedgworth, president of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida and head of Wedgworth's, Inc., a member of the board of directors of the legal organization, will request the probe.

Wedgworth said he was driving by the headquarters about 7:30 p.m., Tuesday, when he observed a number of people in the office and stopped to inquire about activities there.

The legal services board director said he did not find any officer assigned to the office in the building.

At the time he walked in, Wedgworth said he met Martin Carr, who identified himself as a producer from NBC, who said he had been given permission to use the office for filming "rather than a crowded motel room."

Thomas C. Carey, an attorney in charge of the local office that is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, said he had not received a complaint from Wedgworth early this morning. He knew the television crew was using the office, he said.

Wedgworth was told by Carr that the broadcasting company was in the Lake Okeechobee area filming a "story about migrants."

When the board member entered the offices, an interview with a young Mexican youth was being completed.

The interview was on the use of pesticides, Wedgworth was told. When he inquired if the worker was an authority on the subject, he was told only that the worker was familiar with the sprays being used in the fields.

Only one of the occupants of the building identified himself as being an employe of the legal organization, the board member explained. He was not identified.

Wedgworth said he would point out the privacy entitled the client-attorney relationship in his report, as there were a number of files in the office that could readily be searched.

Carr told Wedgeworth the broadcasting company would be in the area for about two weeks. There are plans to bring Chet Huntley here to narrate a portion of the planned broadcast, he stated.

Wedgworth said there has been no attempt made at this time to interview any growers of produce or sugar cane to his knowledge.

Several weeks ago, it was learned, another NBC employee visited the area and apparently made the contacts for the present filming.

Wedgworth said the next meeting of the board of directors of the Legal Services has been set for April 29.

[From Palm Beach Post, Apr. 16, 1970]

LEGAL SERVICES OFFICE USE BY FILM CREW IS CRITICIZED

(By Mike Abrams, Post staff writer)

Belle Glade—A National Broadcasting Company (NBC) film crew used a Florida Rural Legal Services office here "in accordance with Office of Economic Opportunity policy." Legal Services Executive Director Alan Kuker said yesterday.

His comment came as a member of the Legal Services' board of directors, farmer George Wedgworth. said he wanted an investigation of the situation.

"Part of our job is to provide a grievance mechanism for our clients," said Kuker from his Homestead headquarters.

"Our job is to make sure our clients have the ability to express their grievances in a lawful manner," he said, "not in a way violent or disruptive to law and order."

Wedgworth said he would request a probe into legal services activities after he observed the NBC crew in the branch offices Tuesday.

Wedgworth said he did not find any rural legal services officer in the building at the time.

Office manager Tom Carey, an attorney, said his investigator, Ernesto Urbina, was present during the filming in which Urbina and a Mexican-American client of Carey's were questioned.

NBC director Martin Carr denied the legal services offices were being used as a headquarters for the film crew.

"We were there for one hour doing an interview with an investigator for the legal services," said Carr. Carr said the Mexican-American did not speak English and claimed to have a rash caused by work in the fields.

"I made it perfectly clear to Mr. Wedgworth yesterday that I was also talking with Farmers in the area," said Carr.

"I told him I was delighted to have the opportunity to talk to him and we talked for a full half-hour yesterday.

"If there is a grievance that a member of the board wishes to take up," said Carey, "There is a well-established method for it. Headlines in newspapers are not the way to air grievances.

Executive director Kuker said he would cooperate with NBC.

"When NBC or a welfare agency or anybody wants to investigate the poverty plight, we cooperate with them," he said.

Office manager Carey said his offices are open to any citizen who wished to use them.

Carr said he has encountered suspicion from some local persons because of a documentary "Harvest of Shame" shown on another network about 11 years ago, depicting the plight of the migrant.

"Most of the people I meet in the street here are extremely cooperative, but some are unduly suspicious. Because of their suspicion they are afraid to talk, but at the same time say we only came here to get one side of the story," Carr said.

His research and filming will go into a special one-hour documentary narrated by Chet Huntley, Carr said. Huntley will be coming to south Florida to narrate the film, Carr said.

[From Palm Beach Times, Apr. 16, 1970]

ROGERS TO SEEK OFFICE USE PROBE

Belle Glade—U.S. Rep. Paul G. Rogers (D-West Palm Beach) will request an investigation into the use of an office of a federally-funded legal service here Tuesday by a National Broadcasting Co. television crew.

Rogers said he was informed of the incident Wednesday, after the television crew was found conducting an after-hours interview in the office of the Florida Rural Legal Services, Inc., 132 SW Ave. B.

George H. Wedgworth, a member of the board of directors of the organization that is funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity, walked into the office and learned that none of the attorneys in charge was present.

The sugar cane and produce company official was told the offices were being used as they offered more working space than a crowded motel room.

Thomas C. Carey, attorney in charge of the local office, said he knew the interviews of migrant farm workers were being carried on in the office.

Wedgworth criticized the use of the federal office by private industry and also said legal files in the office could have been picked up and the privacy of a client-attorney relationship violated.

Rogers said he would contact local officials and request the OEO headquarters in Washington to conduct an investigation into the alleged use of the federal facility.

The NBC crew is here filming activities in the Lake Okeechobee area, called the winter vegetable capital of the world, with emphasis on the migrant worker, Wedgworth was told by Martin Carr, the producer of the NBC crew.

FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY,
Boca Raton, Fla., July 3, 1970.

CHET HUNTLEY,
NBC,
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. HUNTLEY: I am writing with reference to the program you plan concerning the plight of Florida's agricultural migrant workers. I have been studying the operation of Florida Rural Legal Services (FRLS) in South Florida for almost a year now. Recently, while attending a meeting of the board of directors of FRLS, I learned that the agricultural interests in this area would try either to influence the content of your program or, if unsuccessful, to discredit it. At the last board meeting of Florida Rural Legal Services, Mr. George Sorn was present as a representative of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association (FFVA). Mr. Sorn, who is the manager of the Labor Division of the FFVA, was filling-in for Mr. George Wedgeworth. Mr. Wedgeworth (president of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida and a past president of the FFVA) is the Association's regular on the board of directors of FRLS. At the June 24, 1970 meeting of the Board, Mr. Sorn charged that NBC news was planning "another biased documentary, like *Harvest of Shame.*" Mr. Sorn took issue with a statement attributed to you charging that no "real meaningful changes" had taken place in the area with respect to the situation of migrant workers. In order to dispute this contention, Mr. Sorn indicated that he had sent you a large amount of material concerning Florida's efforts to help migrant agricultural workers. My own impression of the situation here is nearer to your own. While, perhaps, it is a slight exaggeration to say that no progress has been made here, your statement to that effect is essentially accurate—especially when viewed in light of what is needed.

The agricultural interests and public officials in South Florida like to maintain the illusion that they are concerned about the migrant laborers who play a key role in the agricultural economy of the area. For this reason, they react with an irrational emotionalism to the slightest criticism of their behavior with respect to the migrant population. Each time an effort has been made to publicize the deplorable situation of the migrants here, there has been a public outcry wholly disproportionate to the nature of the criticism. *Harvest of Shame* is as vividly remembered by some of these people as if it had been filmed yesterday. The uproar over the "hunger hearings," held by the United States Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs in Immokalee and Fort Myers, Florida last spring, was tremendous and the committee was widely attacked in the rural press, by growers, and by public officials. The reaction of these interests to the appearance of your film crews in the area is true to form. The mere fact that you plan a program on this topic to be filmed in their locality is enough to convince them that your report will be "biased." To them anything is "biased" which fails to conform to their own preconceived notions about "reality." Nothing else can explain their highly emotional attacks on a committee of the United States Senate for reaching the incontestable conclusion that hunger and malnutrition exist in the areas visited by the Committee. With due respect to the "good guy" image the large growers in this area would like to convey, any progress which has been made here has been made without their active cooperation and usually by overcoming their determined opposition.

To support this, that the large growers and their politician friends have opposed almost all efforts to offer meaningful help to the migrants, I will draw upon the experience of Florida Rural Legal Services. This program came into being in 1967. Originally, it was called South Florida Migrant Legal Services (SFMLS). The program was funded, at that time, for two years under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Its purpose, put quite simply, was to provide a full range of legal services for indigent migrant workers. This was to include, under OEO directives, suits against government agencies and other "establishment" institutions, where legal action was called for. The idea of having a federally-funded legal program come into "their" area to challenge their formerly unquestioned, arbitrary control over "their" migrants was never accepted very well by those in control of Florida's huge agri-business industry and by public officials beholden to those interests for their public offices. Because of this, a vicious and continuous attack was focused upon the new legal services program by these interests. Three suits, in particular, antagonized these forces of the status quo.

Early in 1968, only about three months after SFMLS began full operations, a labor dispute broke out in one of the labor camps of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida in Palm Beach County. As a result of this dispute, a large number of Jamaican sugar cane cutters were taken, under police escort, to Miami, for shipment back to Jamaica. This was done without any hearing or charges being filed. Approximately fifty-two additional cane cutters were arrested. The scene at the so-called riot was bizarre. Although there was no evidence of violence on the part of the Jamaican cane cutters, about seventy law enforcement officials were called to the scene. The officers arrived in full riot regalia, armed with carbines and accompanied by police dogs. An investigator for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported that his staff, based specifically on statements made to them by Sheriff Heidtman (of Palm Beach County), believed that Sheriff Heidtman "welcomed any opportunity to smash labor agitation." This investigator concluded that "the arrests . . . appear to be directly related to a desire to repress protests over working conditions. The summary expulsions from the country seem highly irregular and appear to have been more a punishment than a procedure authorized by law or agreement." As a result of this incident, SFMLS filed a suit on behalf of the cane cutters, in March of 1968, in the Federal Court of Miami, against Sheriff Heidtman, the FFVA, the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida, and others. This suit charged the defendants with violating the civil rights of the cane cutters, depriving them of their right to assemble peaceably and to petition for the redress of grievances. The suit asked $750,000 in damages. Since SFMLS was prohibited from accepting "fee-generating cases," private counsel was retained to handle the damages aspect of the case. A Miami attorney was retained as co-counsel since no Palm Beach County attorney expressed an interest in becoming involved with this highly controversial case. The other two controversial cases mentioned previously also involved large growers as defendants. The growers in these two cases were charged with holding their workers in peonage by refusing to allow them to leave the premises before they had paid certain debts to the employer. Also at question was the right of access to labor camps. Attorneys for the plaintiffs (i.e., SFMLS staff attorneys) were refused admittance to the camps involved in order to consult with their clients (Puerto Rican farm workers).

Largely as a result of these three cases, SFMLS was subjected to sustained attacks, primarily from three quarters: the conservative local bar associations outside of Dade County; the farmers and their associations; and public officials including Governor Claude Kirk and U.S. Representative Paul Rogers.

In May of 1969, a highly qualified team of evaluators reported to OEO that: "A basic conclusion here must be that the abuse this program [SFMLS] has taken publicly is remarkably disproportionate to the actual evidence of wrongdoing which can be produced against it." The evaluators also concluded that the attacks on SFMLS "created a great danger for the continued independence, integrity, and dedication of legal aid lawyers." In spite of this report, and of the unanimous recommendation of the evaluators that SFMLS be refunded, the program continued to be the object of politically motivated attacks—including attempts to discredit the evaluators of the program. The evaluation team, it should be noted, included an outstanding law professor from a leading law school and a representative of the American Bar Association's Legal Aid Committee.

The attacks on the legal services program have been extremely detrimental as far as the migrant workers are concerned. As a result of the continuous assaults on SFMLS, the program has had to spend much of its time defending itself instead of advocating the legal causes of migrants. Also, the uncertain situation with respect to refunding, due to these attacks, resulted in the loss of a large number of staff members towards the end of the original funding period. Recruiting difficulties also were attributable to the uncertainties created by the political attacks on SFMLS. As a result of these two factors, the program was chronically understaffed.

One of the first acts of the new Director of the Legal Services Program, in Washington, under President Nixon, was to come to Florida and strike a bargain with Governor Kirk and other program critics. The new Director, Terry Lenzner, could not, under the circumstances, accede to Kirk's demands to fund an entirely new group. SFMLS had too many supporters nationally, both in Congress and among other legal services projects around the country. Any move by the new Director to eliminate SFMLS would have completely demoralized legal service lawyers throughout the country. Lenzner did the next best thing, however. To appease Kirk, and prevent a confrontation between the new administration and a Republican governor, Lenzner forced SFMLS to change its name (to Florida Rural Legal Services) and to restructure its board of directors as a prerequisite to refunding. The latter step was a serious blow to those who had supported a full range of legal services for migrants. The new board would have nine members representing growers' organizations, the Governors's office, and the conservative Florida Bar Association. While they did not constitute a majority of the board, these opposition representatives did comprise fully one-half of the eighteen member board. Since their main purpose would not be affirmative, but would be to prevent "undesirable" actions, this amount of representation has been sufficient.

Although OEO requires that all Board members support the national legal services program, this requirement has been conveniently ignored. One of the new directors, George Wedgeworth, is President of one of the defendant corporations in the Jamaican cane cutter suit (*Cole* v. *Heidtman*). Others include some of those previously most critical of the program. Several of these people clearly reject the goals of the national program and have shown little concern for migrants, either in the past or since being appointed to the board of FRLS. Mr. Wedgeworth, for example, contended, in one board meeting (April 29, 1970), that the staff should avoid cases which "polarize" the community—"irrespective of OEO guidelines." As Mr. Wedgeworth explained the term, a "polarizing" case is any case that "stirs controversy." I suppose he means by this any case directed against growers, public officials, and other elements in the established power structure.

These new directors have used their positions on the board to mount a series of petty attacks upon those staff members who continue to vigorously advocate the causes of their clients. Although no one has been officially reprimanded or dismissed yet, it appears to be only a matter of time until this occurs. Unless, of course, these tactics of intimidation work and the program staff restricts itself to domestic cases and other cases involving only migrants. As I mentioned earlier, the grower representatives also have attempted to turn FRLS board meetings into a forum for attacking efforts, like your program, to publicize the problems of migrants.

The action of the new board in the Jamaican case provides an indication of the direction the program now appears to be taking. Without even taking a vote (because it might "split" the board) the new board concluded, at its last meeting, that this case would be dropped. The new president of FRLS, a former critic of the program, even persuaded the judge to assess court costs in the case, formerly charged to FRLS, to the plaintiffs (i.e., to the indigent Jamaican farm workers). There has been some talk to the effect that OEO or Miami's legal services program might take up the case. OEO, which originally ordered FRLS to continue as counsel in this case, has given in once again to the demands of those opposed to the migrants having full legal representation and agreed to let the program off the hook in this case. *Cole* v. *Heidtman* is one of the most significant cases this program ever initiated. The abandonment of this case has served to reinforce the growing feeling among migrant groups that FRLS's new board is out either to kill the program or to turn it into another service-oriented welfare program.

The purpose of this letter has been to refute the contentions of the farm interests in South Florida and in Palm Beach County that they have taken a positive interest in helping migrant workers. Their record of obstructionism with regard to efforts to provide legal services for migrants is not unique. The farmers now are taking considerable credit for "supporting" health services for migrants. The fact is that the growers did not initiate efforts in this field—nor were they quick to jump on the bandwagon. However, once it became evident the migrant health project did not intend to challenge their control over the migrants, many growers did accept this service. Some growers even came to support the health program. There are essentially three reasons for this support: (1) the health program saves them money because it spreads the responsibility for migrant health to the taxpayers in general, thus relieving their burden; (2) they have come to realize that healthy workers are more efficient; and (3) because this program provides them with something to point to with pride to show what they are doing for the migrants (note: without federal money, they would be doing absolutely nothing). It should be noted that, in spite of widespread violations of sanitation codes, local migrant health projects have taken hardly any growers to court for violations. Were a real attempt made to enforce these codes, it is doubtful that the Migrant Health Program would remain popular for long. I do not mean to downgrade the efforts being made in the area of health. Though progress has been very limited, it might have been impossible had a serious effort been made to close down unsanitary labor camps. Given the experiences of SFMLS when it tried to challenge the dominion of Florida's agribusiness over the migrants, it seems likely that the health officials have operated in the only way they could without having their program destroyed.

If the migrant workers in this area are ever to improve themselves, the depressing and often repressive conditions in this area must be so thoroughly exposed that public indignation will demand that something be done to halt the abuses of the agri-business-industry. These interests have the money to hire publicists and lawyers to see that their image is presented in the best light possible. The migrants can neither express themselves in these ways nor rely on paid agents to present their side of the story. I am sure NBC has done a thorough investigative job and will not be misled by the farmers and their spokesmen. I felt, however, that the role of these large grower associations and their political allies in attempting to prevent the migrants from sharing in our system of "equal justice for all" should be told.

Sincerely,

J. D. PHAUP,
Instructor.

[From Press Department, National Broadcasting Co., New York, N.Y., May 26, 1970]

NBC NEWS SPECIAL ON MIGRANT WORKERS SCHEDULED FOR THURSDAY, JULY 16

A documentary on migrant workers will be colorcast on the NBC Television Network *Thursday, July 16* (7:30–8:30 p.m. NYT). Donald Meaney, Vice President, NBC News, announced the air date today.

Producer Martin Carr and narrator Chet Huntley concluded location filming in central Florida the last week in April. The program will include interviews with state officials and landowners, but will focus primarily on the living conditions of the workers.

Mr. Carr joined NBC News as producer-director-writer in September. He was with CBS for the previous 10 years, where he won four awards for "Hunger in America" and two awards for "Gaugin in Tahiti."

(The special will preempt "Daniel Boone.")

[From the Denver Post, June 26, 1970]

'MIGRANT' DRAWS RESPONSE, INTEREST

On the Air By Bob Tweedell

Advance information about a documentary which the NBC–TV network has scheduled for July 16 indicates it will be of more than ordinary interest to viewers.

The program, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," is an updated report on the itinerant farm labor situation which was explored 10 years ago by the late Edward R. Murrow on "Harvest of Shame," an "expose" that is still causing repercussions.

Some items about "Migrant":

It will be the last "special" for NBC reporter Chet Huntley, who is leaving the network at then end of July.

It is being reproduced by Martin Carr, who also produced the controversial, award-winning CBS documentary, "Hunger in America."

It has drawn the attention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which in 1961 published a special brochure rebutting "Harvest of Shame." Among other things, the AFBF charged that the program was "highly colored propaganda . . . a rigged documentary" and accused the CBS network of "a major failure to exercise its responsibility for honest factual reporting."

The Farm Bureau, taking note of the upcoming NBC program, has sent a letter to "broadcasters and reviewers" confessing "suspicion" about the approach and content of "Migrant."

Quoting a Broadcasting magazine article which said the NBC program "reportedly will show that migrant workers are living amid the same 'poverty, disease and servitude' of 10 years ago," The Farm Bureau letter established firm ground for dissent.

"Without in any way mitigating the need for continuing improvement in the migrant problem, this premise is unreasonable and false," the letter said.

"Since most people are under the impression that nearly all farm labor is migrant it is particularly harmful. Less than one in 10 farm workers is migratory—a very crucial distinction we hope the sequel to 'Harvest of Shame' makes.

"To be sure there are rural poor—as there are urban poor. It is true that rural poor may work for farmers—when they work at all. But these are problems of rural poverty and not farmer avarice—a point which 'Harvest of Shame' did not make. Perhaps its sequel will. . . .

"Okay, we're suspicious, and we may be proven wrong. Moreover, we have no objection to a fact-finding documentary into any phase of our agricultural operations. What we are suspicious about—in the announced context of what has gone before—is the nondocumentary which presents a preconceived point of view directed to the persuasion of audiences to the partisan position of producers."

The difficulties producer Carr may have with the Farm Bureau after his program is televised have been preceded by problems in filming "Migrant."

An NBC press release reports that Carr and his crew were ejected from a migrant worker camp at Pahokee, Fla., by the owner, who was armed with a shotgun.

NBC said Carr "was filming conditions in the already condemned housing the owner had transferred to his property to rent to migrants."

Carr was quoted as saying that following the incident, "we got courteous intimidation from local police who followed us wherever we went." He said the police sometimes interrupted filming by walking in front of the camera, making noise or intimidating the local residents.

[From Press Department, National Broadcasting Co., New York, N.Y., July 1, 1970]

"MIGRANT—AN NBC WHITE PAPER" OFFERS ANALYSIS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE FLORIDA MIGRANT

(Chet Huntley is the Interviewer on July 16 Special)

"The migrant people have become so used to easy living they don't want to work any more."

This is the feeling of one of the growers appearing on "Migrant—An NBC White Paper" on the NBC Television Network *Thursday, July 16*, (7:30–8:30 p.m. NYT). NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley conducts the interviews.

In contrast is 15-year-old Jackson Bowers' description of himself as a "bum" who dropped out of school in the eighth grade because, as a migrant child, he does not have the clothes, shoes or lunch money that other children have.

The average annual wage figure for migrants—$891, according to U.S. Department of Labor statistics cited in the program—also seems to belie the "easy living" theory.

"Migrant" examines the Florida migrant's economic situation in depth—what he gets paid, what he must spend for rent, the availability of jobs, and the state's failure to pass a compulsory workmen's compensation law.

The program also discusses, with the workers, camp owners and state officials, the housing situation and the bleak outlook for remedies. Condemned housing is still open, according to James W. Vann, Executive Secretary of the Pahokee Housing Authority, because of the stringency of other accommodations. Mr. Vann notes, however, that even new public units cannot be held for the migrant workers if permanent residents want them.

Exploration of the migrants' education turns up such state statistics as "50% of the migrant children don't get to junior high school" and 80% don't get to high school." The program probes the reasons behind migrant drop out, including the parents' need for help in the fields and social discrimination.

But perhaps the most startling statistic turns up in an examination of the health situation—the life expectancy of a migrant worker is 49 years.

"Migrant" also reveals a woman's tale of being threatened with eviction because she had talked about her housing conditions.

"Migrant" is producer Martin Carr's first special for NBC News. He was with CBS until September, 1969, where he won awards for "Hunger in America," "Gaugin in Tahiti," "Search for Ulysses" and many others.

This is Chet Huntley's last documentary before leaving NBC Aug. 1. He conducts some of the interviews on location and narrates the film.

NBC–TV Program Highlight July 16

> Migrant—An NBC White Paper—An analysis of the Florida migrant's situation, showing his severe economic straits, housing conditions and educational problems. NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley talks with workers, growers and government officials in his final documentary before leaving NBC. Award-winning producer Martin Carr is in charge of "Migrant."

[From the New York Times, July 12, 1970]

SHAME IS STILL THE HARVEST

(By Martin Carr, producer, NBC News)

These are difficult times for newsmen. Journalism, especially television journalism, is under attack for presenting a one-sided view of the news. But, as I found during a six-week visit to central Florida for the filming of "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," a show investigating the living conditions of migrant workers, some of television's severest critics are the very people who make it difficult for journalists to present a balanced story.

I had the experience of finding that my work in Florida was looked upon with suspicion almost everywhere I went, and in some cases I met with open and frightening hostility.

You never know what you're going to do when a gun is pointed at you. The stranger pointing the gun at me was the owner of a camp for migrants, a rundown collection of houses just outside Pahokee, Florida. I was in the middle of an interview with one of his tenants, a child of 11, who was left in charge of her younger brothers and sisters while her parents were off working in the fields. They were living in a tired shack, almost indistinguishable from the surrounding shacks which the owner had carried to this property on a flat-bed truck. The houses in the camp had been condemned for the past year, and he clearly did not want them to be part of the film we were making. "Get out! You don't have no business here!" he yelled from the car, and the situation quickly became polarized beyond the point where reasonable discussion was possible.

Ironically, Jim Norling, the cameraman, and his crew had been with NBC producer Ted Yates when he was killed by a stray bullet while filming a documentary in Jerusalem. The crew had been describing the experience only the night before. The sound man, Al Hoagland, had told me how his tape recorder stopped a bullet from entering his head. We cleared off the property as quickly as possible, but as we walked to the road, I realized that the owner and his gun were part of the story as well, and an important part.

Though we were within our legal rights visiting the camp, the owner, and people like him applying various forms of intimidation, were keeping the story of the migrants—their continuing exploitation and wretchedness—from reaching the rest of America and possibly arousing the kind of attention that could remedy some of these awful conditions.

I realized another thing: we were carrying a weapon, too—a camera. As soon as we reached the sanctuary of the public road, safely off the camp property, I signaled the cameraman to start filming and the sound man to start recording.

This scene, along with other at times more courteous forms of intimidation, is an integral part of the program which will be shown Thursday night at 7:30. Unfortunately, intimidation too often works, and there are places and people in Florida that will not be seen by the rest of America because of it.

Chet Huntley, who narrates the program, was scheduled to interview three people who had cooperated with Edward R. Murrow in making "CBS Reports: Harvest of Shame," 10 years ago. They had been carefully lined up and a definite time and place had been set for each of the interviews. Huntley got to meet only one of these people; we never got to film any of them. The woman he did meet admitted she was too frightened to appear on screen. She was afraid of what might happen to her if she talked. She described the reprisals that had been taken against one man who had talked to Murrow. He had been a crew chief at the time, but after the film was shown, his account at the local bank was closed and his crew was boycotted by local growers. It was years before he recovered from the after-effects of his two-minute television appearance. The woman's fears were well founded. Annie Belle Brown, a migrant lady I had interviewed a few days before, was threatened with eviction by her landlord after she had dared to talk to me. Huntley was going to ask these people if things had changed very much in the 10 years since "Harvest of Shame." Though he never got to ask the question, the answer had become perfectly clear.

There is a fable about six blind men, each touching a different part of an elephant and each describing the whole elephant in a totally different way. The blind man holding the tail describes the elephant as long and thin like a snake; the man touching the leg thinks the elephant is like a tree, and so forth. In other words, there were six different "truths" for six different people.

Again and again, local growers told me that they wouldn't cooperate because, they said, I was going to tell only one side of the story—the migrant's side. My colleagues and I tried very hard to persuade them to cooperate, pointing out that it would be difficult to tell their side of the story if they would not be interviewed. But most of them couldn't, or wouldn't, see the point of this argument.

There is a notarized letter on my desk from one of the farmers we did succeed in interviewing. He doesn't want any part of that interview used in the show, although on the day it was filmed he had given us his complete cooperation, including a signed release allowing us to use the film on air. After careful consideration, we decided to include the interview in the broadcast. We need it to provide the balance which Florida farmers and officials insist we are uninterested in.

One of Florida's largest growers, George Wedgworth, wanted to be interviewed. That is, if I followed his "suggestions," as he put it. He had prepared a list of people he thought I should interview in order to learn the "truth" about migrants. (Wedgworth must have repeated the word "truth" about 10 times in his conversation). Some of the people on the list were his employes; all of the people on the list would, it seemed to me, obviously support his point of view—that migrants live well enough, are paid enough, and have nothing to gain from organizing or forming unions. He ended our session together by informing me that I wouldn't be able to reach him during the coming week, as he was off to Jamaica to arrange for the importation of labor to clear his sugar cane fields. Wedgworth is not part of the documentary, though other farmers and officials with fewer strings attached to their co-operation are given a chance to air their views.

Since our entire film had been shot in Florida, it seemed proper to ask the Governor of Florida, Claude Kirk, to give his views on the problems of the migrants. An interview date was arranged for late June, and Huntley planned to fly back to Florida to interview him, at his request, in an orange grove. Four days before the scheduled interview, Governor Kirk's office phoned and explained that the governor had decided against it—that we were not going to balance both sides of the story. We carefully explained how valuable the governor's interview would be; without his cooperation, he would, in fact, help to create the condition he said he was trying to avoid. All to no avail. An interview between Claude Kirk and Chet Huntley will not be part of this documentary.

Balance is a problem in making of a television documentary, especially one that deals with social issues. Calling attention to the means of getting a story is the last thing a reporter should do. However, I'm alarmed at the way the growing criticism of television news makes it increasingly difficult to gather a story and thereby threatens the public's right to know.

[From the Washington Post, July 12, 1970]

A FITTING FAREWELL

(Cover Story By Lawrence Laurent)

Chet Huntley, who is about to leave television for the Big Sky country of Montana, has one final documentary special to do before he goes. It is this week's NBC–TV News program on the plight of the migrant workers in agriculture.

It is a program that is almost certain to cause controversy, to anger spokesmen for agriculture organizations and to bring complaints from Congressmen who represent farming districts. For, going into the program, producer Martin Carr is convinced that the condition of poverty, disease and servitude of the migrant workers is "virtually the same" as it was ten years ago when Edward R. Murrow looked at these people and saw a "Harvest of Shame."

Migrant workers, Carr charges, are still living in substandard housing and, in many places, are being treated not as well as slaves were treated in the 19th Century.

Filming was concentrated in the state of Florida, home base for most of the migrants who follow the harvest season up the East Coast and into the Midwest. These workers are constantly exposed to the effects of pesticides and many are in poor health.

Carr has promised to examine what Florida is doing to improve conditions and what the Federal government ought to be doing. Contrary to popular belief, Carr adds, the migrant workers are United States citizens. Many persons think, however, that the workers come from Mexico or the Caribbean just for the harvests.

The show would seem to be a fitting farewell to TV specials for Chet Huntley. He's won every major award and, more surprising, has never exchanged an angry word with his partner, David Brinkley.

At a recent dinner honoring Huntley, Brinkley said: "I doubt any two people in the history of television or any other form of public communication or show business have ever worked together 14 years every day without once having one angry word."

Brinkley continued: "In spite of some efforts by columnists and others to manufacture feuds and fights between us, there has never been—quite literally—one angry word; either with each other or, in fact, with NBC."

Brinkley noted that "Chet outlasted almost everybody on television except Ed Sullivan, and while Sullivan is fine, I think he has lasted so long because he doesn't do anything. He points to people who do things. And if he points to a bad act, the audience gets mad at the act; they don't get mad at him."

In 1956, when the Huntley-Brinkley team first was seen on TV, it was producer Reuven Frank who insisted that the "Good Night, David" and "Good Night, Chet," be used to close the program.

As Brinkley recalls: "Chet and I both objected to it.

"We thought it was cornball and embarrassing.

"And we thought we ought to say goodnight to the audience and not to each other.

"But reluctantly we agreed to do it, and within a year or so it was part of the American language and Huntley and Brinkley had been wrong again."

NBC will replace Huntley with the team of Frank McGee and John Chancellor with Brinkley remaining in Washington.

Still, Brinkley has a warning: "I'm afraid that maybe out of habit I will continue saying good night to Chet after he is gone. If so, I hope you'll all bear with me."

[From the Miami Herald, July 15, 1970]

CONDITION OF FLORIDA MIGRANTS UNCHANGED, REPORTS NBC CREW

(By Jim Meyer, Herald Entertainment Writer)

Ten years ago, Edward R. Murrow's award-winning "Harvest of Shame" examined the deplorable plight of migrant workers in this country.

Thursday at 7:30 p.m. on Channels 7 and 5, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper" re-examines the lives of these people and, sadly, concludes that conditions really haven't improved very much in 10 years.

Producer Martin Carr, newsman Chet Huntley and NBC crewmen came to Florida to film "Migrant." In a recent conversation with Carr, I was told:

"We did go to South Dade, but decided against filming there since I found more varied problems in other areas. We filmed very heavily in Palm Beach County, starting at the range line of Delray, as well as at Belle Glade. I borrowed footage from Murrow's 'Harvest of Shame' for use at the outset of 'Migrant,' and dissolved from that to Belle Glade as it is today.

"Our crew also filmed a great deal at Pahokee, Immokalee and Winter Haven. You know, in Florida the migrant worker can work a good part of the year—about eight months—and in that respect, Florida is unique. Florida accounts for two-thirds of the oranges produced in this country and also has the second largest vegetable industry.

"In interviewed one farmer who said that even if he grosses $2 million a year, he doesn't break even. What I think he meant is that, after paying salaries and all legitimate expenses, it's probably that in pure corporate terms there really is no extra money for him. And, of course, we also found that the 'small farmer' is disappearing in Florida. The 'big farmers' seem to do quite well."

Did the migrant workers talk freely?

"The workers were greatly intimidated," said Carr. "I had three people lined up to talk to Chet Huntley, to tell him how things have changed in the 10 years since these same three participated in 'Harvest of Shame.'

"The day Chet arrived to see them, one man couldn't get off work, the second man disappeared and hid in the fields all day, and the woman set to be interviewed admitted she was afraid to talk because of reprisals taken against all of them after 'Harvest of Shame.'

"A lot of the migrant workers no longer travel. 'We leave broke and we come back broke,' they told us. We found endless hardship cases. People want to work, but there didn't seem to be enough jobs. I finally managed, after five days of phoning and with the aid of your lieutenant governor, to get permission to go into the Belle Glade state employment office to see what the situation really was.

"After we got there, we encountered a photographer who was not introduced to us and who refused to answer when I asked why he was photographing all of our crew. I naturally pulled my crew out of there—fast!

"The lieutenant governor later called and apologized. Subsequently law enforcement officers cooperated with us, but we still often felt like we were operating behind enemy lines," said Carr.

"An Associated Press story quoted Doyle Connor, commissioner of agriculture in Florida, as saying that while he hadn't seen our production, he knew it 'was biased and bigoted and tells only the migrant's side of the story and doesn't show any of the new housing for workers.' None of these claims are true!

"Education for migrant children? Well, a lot of strides have been made, but it's been a battle against a whole way of life—a horrendous way of life, in fact, since so often the kids are needed to work in the fields to help support their families.

"I'm not sure to what age these kids are required to go to school, but I can tell you that this law is not enforced. A lot of families would starve if it were. Most school officials are truly sympathetic toward migrant workers, but they'll tell you that it's apt to be three or four generations before this situation can improve.

"And no recreational facilities that deserve the name, either. The migrant camps just are not to be believed! Your average camp has been in such a deplorable state for so many years that to call it a slum would be to dignify it."

Martin Carr has been with NBC "slightly less than a year, and I was with CBS for 13 years before that. I like doing both cultural and sociological documentaries. My most outright fun experience was with one we called "Search for Ulysses,' for which we cruised in the Mediterranean for a few months, tracing Homer's 'Odyssey' and proving that Ulysses really lived.

"I'd like to make that trip again, but I hope it's never necessary to go back to the migrant camps."

[From the News American, Baltimore, Md., July 15, 1970]

FILMING MIGRANT CAMP A HEADACHE

Being run off with a shotgun from a migrant worker camp was only one of a series of hostile encounters between growers and the NBC News crew filming

"Migrant—An NBC White Paper," scheduled for colorcast on the NBC–WBAL Television Network Thursday, at 7:30 p.m.

The shotgun incident occurred at a camp in Pahokee, Fla., where producer Martin Carr was filming conditions in the already-condemned housing the owner had transferred to his property to rent to migrants.

"After that," Mr. Carr says, "we got 'courteous intimidation' from local police who followed us wherever we went." The police sometimes interrupted filming by walking in front of the camera, making noise or intimidating the local residents, Mr. Carr explained.

One of the growers also complained about NBC's use of a local employment office for filming interviews, and one of the women migrant workers who talked to the crew was threatened with eviction.

Despite reluctance of many of the workers to talk because of fear of such retaliation, NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley, managed to gather material from several locations for his last special before leaving NBC Aug. 1.

"In telling the growers' side of the story," Mr. Carr says, "we will interview a member of the board of Citrus Mutual, the largest celery-grower in the country, and we have arranged for an interview with Florida's Governor Claude Kirk in an orange grove."

"The migrant people have become so used to easy living they don't want to work any more," another grower declared.

In contrast is 15-year-old Jackson Bowers' description of himself as a "bum" who dropped out of school in the eighth grade because, as a migrant child, he did not have the clothes, shoes, or lunch money that other children had.

The average annual wage figure for migrants—$891, according to U.S. Department of Labor statistics cited in the program—also seems to belie the "easy living" theory.

[From Women's Wear Daily, July 17, 1970]

"MIGRANT"

The misery and poverty of migrant U.S. farm workers is the subject of the NBC White Paper tonight, conducted by Chet Huntley.

The hour consists of interviews with workers and their employers and landlords, and films of their living conditions. Predictably, the landlords and employers stated that migrant workers didn't want to work, didn't keep their homes clean, etc.; while workers seemed in earnest saying that they wanted and sought jobs, were lucky to get two days' work a week at $12 a day, and films showed their houses to be unsteady shacks, often without running water or plumbing.

Statistics revealed on the program, too, are grim and shocking: For example, migrant workers earn an average annual wage of $891.

Most families do all they can to keep their children in school, but the children are unhappy in school, and it appears they drop out as soon as they can. A teacher, helping older children and teenagers to read, described them as "ashamed to be field workers," but felt they would probably all grow up to continue it.

Most of the interviews were conducted by producer Martin Carr, who seemed almost condescending in his sympathy with the workers. A 15-year-old boy who had quit school was pressed with questions, "How did you feel in school? You didn't have shoes to wear?" I felt this segment was not necessary.

The migrant workers' plight was first brought to the attention of the American public in a similar broadcast by Edward R. Murrow 10 years ago ("Harvest of Shame," on CBS). That the conditions are hardly changed now may say something about how much can be accomplished by such a program. I hope not.

—MARY LOIS VANN.

[From the Houston Chronicle, July 12–18, 1970]

GROWERS HASSLE NBC NEWS CREW

Being run off with a shotgun from a migrant worker camp was only one of a series of hostile encounters between growers and the NBC News crew filming "Migrant," an NBC White Paper scheduled for Thursday evening, 6:30 on Ch. 2.

The shotgun incident occurred at a camp in Pahokee, Fla., where producer Martin Carr was filming conditions in the already-condemned housing the owner had transferred to his property to rent to migrants.

"After that," Mr. Carr says, "we got 'courteous intimidation' from local police who followed us wherever we went." The police sometimes interrupted filming by walking in front of the camera, making noise or intimidating the local residents, Mr. Carr explained.

One of the growers also complained about NBC's use of a local employment office for filming interviews, and one of the women migrant workers who talked to the crew was threatened with eviction.

Despite reluctance of many of the workers to talk because of fear of such retaliation, NBC News correspondent Chet Huntley managed to gather material from several locations for his last special before leaving.

"In telling the growers' side of the story," Mr. Carr says, "we will interview a member of the board of Citrus Mutual, the largest celery-growers in the country, and we have arranged for an interview with Governor Claude Kirk in an orange grove."

The program concentrates on Florida, according to the producer, because the state's economy is structured on agriculture and more and more workers are staying there the year around.

"Improvements in agricultural methods have made crops less seasonal," Mr. Carr notes, "and the workers discovered they couldn't make any money by going north."

The "Migrant" special will use segments of CBS News' documentary of 10 years ago, "Harvest of Shame," produced by David Lowe and narrated by Edward R. Murrow.

Martin Carr was producer of the controversial, award-winning CBS documentary, "Hunger in America." He joined NBC in September, 1969.

[From the Lubbock Avalanche Journal, July 12, 1970]

FINANCES, EDUCATION: FLORIDA MIGRANTS PUT IN SPOTLIGHT

New York (Special)—"The migrant people have become so used to easy living they don't want to work any more."

This is the feeling of one of the growers appearing on "Migrant—An NBC White Paper" on Thursday, 6:30 p.m. News correspondent Chet Huntley conducts the interviews.

In contrast is 15-year-old Jackson Bowers's description of himself as a "bum" who dropped out of school in the eighth grade because, as a migrant child, he does not have the clothes, shoes or lunch money that other children have.

The average annual wage figure for migrants—$891, according to U.S. Department of Labor statistics cited in the program—also seems to belie the "easy living" theory.

"Migrant" examines the Florida migrant's economic situation in depth—what he gets paid, what he must spend for rent, the availability of jobs, and the state's failure to pass a compulsory workmen's compensation law.

EDUCATION EXPLORED

Exploration of the migrants' education turns up such state statistics as "50 per cent of the migrant children don't get to junior high school" and "80 per cent don't get to high school." The program probes the reasons behind migrant drop out, including the parents' need for help in the fields and social discrimination.

But perhaps the most startling statistic turns up in an examination of the health situation—the life expectancy of a migrant worker is 49 years.

This is Chet Huntley's last documentary before leaving NBC Aug. 1. He conducts some of the interviews on location and narrates the film.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., July 15, 1970]

REFORM DRIVE MAY SHIFT TO AGRI-BUSINESS

The Project on Corporate Responsibility, a group of young Washington-based attorneys which earlier this year mounted a national challenge to the management of the General Motors Corp., has a new target for its reform efforts—the country's large agricultural corporations.

"In addition to planning the next round of Campaign GM, the Project has been investigating the agri-business industry for some time now," said Philip W. Moore, staff counsel to the public interest organization.

"During the coming months, the project intends to devote most of its resources to an examination of the agri-business industry and its impact on the day-to-day lives of workers and consumers," Moore added.

Among the corporations on which attention is being focused, Moore said, are Coca Cola, Penn Central, Tenneco, Atlantic Coast Line and U.S. Sugar, all of which have substantial land holdings on which migrant workers are employed.

"At present, a complicated series of corporate layers insulates the managers of large corporations from the human suffering which their decisions produce," Moore said. "Yet large investors are . . . responsible for the human condition of migrant) workers in Florida and Texas."

Moore's statement coincided with an announcement by Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D–Minn., that the Senate's migratory labor subcommittee, which he heads will hold a new round of hearings later this month on the same issue. Among the first witnesses will be Moore and a team of doctors who studied migrant problems in Florida and Texas under a Field Foundation grant.

[From Hard Times, July 13–20, 1970]

NBC's updated version of "Harvest of Shame," the documentary about migrants, was carefully pruned of footage revealing sordid conditions on southern Florida farms. The farms are owned by Minute-Maid, a subsidiary of Coca-Cola. Coke, a big advertiser on NBC, complained about shots of doctors attending wretched migrant children. Rather than lose advertising, the network cut the sequence.

[From the Miami News, July 16, 1970]

KIRK BREAKS PROMISE ON TV MIGRANT SHOW

(By Verne O. Williams, Miami News Reporter)

Gov. Claude Kirk, charging the show would be "one-sided," backed out on a promise to appear before television cameras for a migrant documentary, NBC news producer Martin Carr said today.

The show, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," is to be aired on Channel 7 at 7:30 p.m. today.

Carr who said his camera crews encountered violent hostility and gunbacked threats in Florida, had invited Gov. Kirk to give his views on the migrant problem. An aide at Tallahassee accepted for the governor with the proviso that the filming take place in an orange grove.

"That was not the most convenient place but we said if it would make the governor happy we would do it," Carr recalled in an interview today.

The producer said that Chet Huntley, who narrates the program, was to interview the governor. As the date in late June neared, NBC heard nothing from Kirk.

"His office was to call and tell us which orange grove," said Carr. "I had cleared the time for Huntley to go to Florida and when it was four days away I got worried. We starting calling but Kirk's aide was always out."

Finally, Carr said, NBC sent a telegram to Kirk and the governor's aide then phoned. "He was amazingly forthright," said Carr. "He said, 'Look, frankly there are stories out all over Florida that you have a one-sided show with only the migrant's side.' "

The same reason, that the documentary would be one-sided, was given by Florida farmers asked by NBC to tell their side, Carr added.

One migrant camp operator in Pahokee chased Carr and a camera crew off his property with a shotgun when he found the NBC men interviewing an 11-year-old girl left in charge of smaller children while the parents worked, he said.

The NBC crew filmed migrant scenes in Pahokee, Belle Glade, Immokalee and the "rangeline" area near West Palm Beach, Carr said.

"I visited South Dade where we found migrant conditions about the same as others but we didn't film there because of logistical problems," Carr added.

Carr, who won a TV Emmy award with his "Hunger in America" documentary in 1968 for CBS, said he felt the "basic squalor" of the migrants' lives had not changed in the past 10 years.

"It would not be fair to say nothing has been done for the migrant in that time," said Carr. "But recent reforms have had little substantial effect on the conditions of their lives."

[From the Miami Herald, July 16, 1970]

PROGRAM ON MIGRANTS ANGERS STATE

(By Steve Sink, Herald Staff Writer)

The plight of migrant workers in Florida is movingly shown in an NBC documentary to be televised at 7:30 tonight.

Titled "Migrant" the special could have been filmed in other states, NBC said, but was made in Florida because this state depends on migrant labor for its agricultural livelihood.

Newsman Chet Huntley, the program's narrator, said NBC asked Gov. Claude Kirk to appear on the special and discuss the migrant situation, but that Kirk declined.

However, Agriculture Secretary Doyle Conner said NBC turned down his request to be interviewed "so that someone could put things in a true perspective." He also said, "I predict this show will go down in television journalism history as one of the most one-sided, biased, unobjective pieces of reporting ever produced."

The showing tonight precedes by four days the start of congressional subcommittee hearings in Washington on reports of "shocking conditions" at migrant camps in Florida and Texas.

NBC concludes that migrant conditions haven't improved much since Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" documentary 10 years ago.

"Recent reforms have had little substantial effect," Huntley says at the end of the program. The film shown in the preceding 55 minutes appears to document that statement.

One woman answers most of a newsman's questions about her trials as a migrant mother trying to keep her children clothed and fed, but breaks into tears and is unable to continue.

Perhaps the most moving interview is with a 15-year-old white boy who quit school because he didn't like it and kept getting into fights. The fights, he said, occurred when other children made fun of him because he didn't have shoes and the "right" clothes.

"It makes you feel like a bum," the boy said.

"Do you think you're a bum?" the newsman asked.

"Yeah, I am a bum," the boy said.

Those interviews indicate the "sad realities of these peoples' lives," Huntley said. NBC also presents statistics indicating that efforts to combat the situation have had little effect.

Construction of 400 low-income housing units at Pahokee is shown, but James W. Vann of the Pahokee Housing Authority tells a newsman the new public housing doesn't begin to meet the housing needs of the migrant workers.

Earlier this week, there had been speculation WPTV Channel 5, West Palm Beach might not show the documentary if station officials felt it was "grossly unfair." Telephone calls and telegrams urged the station to reconsider, however, and let the program be shown.

A station official, however, said the whole issue was "created."

"This has been twisted beyond belief," he said. "If there is one station in the nation that would show the program, we would be one because this is our area."

[From the New York Times, July 16, 1970]

COCA-COLA DENIES LINK TO FARM ILLS

N.B.C. ALTERS DOCUMENTARY ON MIGRANT WORKERS

(By Fred Ferretti)

The National Broadcasting Company, following an angry meeting with representatives of the Coca-Cola Company, altered its documentary on migrant farm workers before the program was broadcast over the N.B.C. television last night.

Coca-Cola was represented in the report as one of the contributors to the marginal conditions under which migrant citrus workers live and labor in Florida. An addition and a deletion in the script of the program, entitled, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," were made late yesterday afternoon, according to its producer Martin Carr.

Mr. Carr said yesterday, "the pressure from Coke was enormous."

Reuven Frank, president of N.B.C. News, said: "There was no pressure. They [Coca-Cola representatives] brought us facts we did not have before. We heard them out.

"After they left, we felt maybe we had singled them out for blame in a situation where so many companies are involved. We removed the onus from them."

An 'Angry Meeting'

Mr. Frank said that "we made no promises" to the Coca-Cola representatives. He characterized the meeting, which was also attended by Julian Goodman, president of N.B.C., as "angry." He said. "They expressed themselves."

The alterations involved two statements made by Mr. Carr on the program's track. At one point he is shown interviewing a woman who lives in a shack near a citrus grove, and the woman asserts that the shack is owned by Coca-Cola. Over her voice, Mr. Carr added this phrase: "Coca-Cola is at work on a major plan, which it claims will correct the failings it has found in its citrus operation."

At another point in the program, Mr. Carr asserts that Coca-Cola and other "giants" of the Florida citrus industry, "set the standards for citrus workers in Florida together with smaller growers." This was deleted.

Mr. Carr and Mr. Frank agreed that the changes did not alter the impact of the program. "We already established that Coke is one of the giants," said Mr. Carr.

Unauthorized Viewing

The pressure from Coca-Cola began yesterday, it was reported, when N.B.C. sent by closed circuit, the hour-long documentary to its affiliates. In Houston several representatives of Coca-Cola saw the screening. Mr. Carr called it "unauthorized viewing." They are reported to have gone to their superiors at Coca-Cola's Atlanta headquarters. The protests were lodged.

Despite Mr. Frank's demurrer, it is realibly reported that the Coca-Cola representatives did ask for specific changes. Whether the alterations that were made were those requested could not be determined. Efforts to reach a Coca-Cola spokesman in Atlanta were fruitless.

Mr. Carr said his program was not changed "in essence." Following the meeting, and after the changes were dictated, Mr. Frank met with several of his staff. He reportedly told them: "We haven't done anything that wasn't proper journalistic judgment." He said the alterations were akin to changes made in a newspaper from the first edition to the second.

He told his staff: "They came with ideas. They did not complain, demand or threaten. We did not crumble."

Chet Huntley, who will be leaving N.B.C. in two weeks, and who did some of the narration—an opening statement and a closing commentary—said he had "no knowledge" of the changes. It was initially reported that Mr. Huntley had been asked to alter some of his closing statements about Coca-Cola, but he denied this. He said "I did the opener and closer last week, and I haven't been near it since."

The program is regarded by Mr. Carr as a sequel to his "Harvest of Shame," also about migrant workers, which he produced, with Edward R. Murrow, 10 years ago. In a recent article in which he described some of the trials and dangers of filming among the migrant workers in Florida, in particular the animosity towards him and his crew by growers, Mr. Carr described an incident in which his party was threatened at gunpoint. He wrote:

"This scene, along with other, more courteous forms of intimidation, is an integral part of the program. . . . Unfortunately, intimidation too often works, and there are places and people in Florida that will not be seen by the rest of America because of it. . . . I'm alarmed at the way the growing criticism of television news makes it increasingly difficult to gather a story and thereby threatens the public's right to know."

[From the Bergen Record, Hackensack, N.J., July 17, 1970]

DOCUMENTARIES—AND THE POOR STAY POOR

(By John Crittenden, staff writer)

Last night's NBC White Paper on migrant workers in Florida was another effort to tweak the conscience of America into doing something about our poor and exploited laborers. Past experience tells us that its warnings, voiced by Chet Huntley, will go unheeded. It was 10 years ago that CBS produced "Harvest of Shame" on the same topic.

Some of the footage showing Edward R. Murrow in a small Florida town was inserted in the show last night. It gave way to pictures of the town today. No changes yet.

The producer of last night's show, Martin Carr, also was responsible for CBS's award-winning "Hunger in America" a few seasons ago. That the networks put the heat on for a few days or weeks and go on to win industry awards for their efforts is laudable, we suppose. But somehow it begins to seem like a grotesque formula for self-congratulation.

A network sends its newsmen to a depressed area to talk to the poor, they dig out information about whose companies are making the profits, then interview the company men too. Then they shuffle the film clips of the needy saying they want jobs and the rich men saying the poor are either lazy or happy and don't really want to work.

With the addition of a few depressing government statistics on how the poor compare with you and me and the naming of the companies as exploiters and apologies for invading the poor people's privacy, they put the show on the air. Then some senators and congressmen start crying about how something's got to be done. After our legislators milk it for political purposes, the network has only to sit back and wait for awards time.

The poor? Always good for an award-winning, tear-jerking documentary.

Maybe this is a cynical view, but one wonders sometimes why more isn't done about the problems themselves. After all, millions of generous Americans watched each of the shows. While the migrants can't vote, the TV viewers can. While the networks have free speech to expose inequities, the viewers—you and me—seem to be either unmoved or unwilling to act.

We may congratulate the media for exercising their rights, but it seems they too little address themselves to the viewer in a leadership role. That would be heavy editorializing, of course, molding the viewers' mind. It seems caution is the virtue that is the vice in this particular instance.

[From the New York Daily News, July 17, 1970]

NBC'S "MIGRANT" SCORES AS A POWERFUL DOCUMENT

(By Ben Gross)

"Migrant," an NBC White Paper, seen last night on Channel 4, proved to be a powerful and sensational report concerning the parlous conditions in which thousands of farm workers exist in central Florida. This final documentary of Chet Huntley's broadcasting career—he retires at the end of the this month—was a real blockbuster and, if not exaggerated—a cause for national shame.

Because the Coca Cola Company, as the owner of citrus trees, was specifically mentioned as being partially responsible for the living conditions of some of the migrants, its representatives discussed the matter with NBC yesterday afternoon. As a result, what a network spokesman termed as a few minor editorial changes were made before the program was telecast.

With Huntley serving as report-commentator, this program revealed that the average annual wage for the workers who pick the crops is only $891. This, according to the U.S. Department of Labor.

One Negro said that although he and his wife combined earn only $20 a week, they pay $16 of it weekly for rent, having only $4 left for food and other necessities. Another laborer, a woman, revealed that often she lacks food, unless she begs for it.

AN OPPOSITE VIEW

Over and over again, this program made clear that the migrants exist under the most primitive conditions, without running water and other elementary conveniences. They portrayed themselves as being in the real lower depths.

And yet, some of the owners of farms disputed the charges of their hirelings. "They have become so used to easy living they don't want to work any more," said one. Another claimed that farmers "lose millions of dollars." He also insisted that last year the majority of migrants "made more than I did."

The documentary made known that two-thirds of all the oranges harvested in the United States are grown in Florida, a crop that brings in $400 million annually. But the average picker earns a yearly income of less than $2,000—about half of what the U.S. calls "the poverty level."

BLEAK FUTURE

As for the children of these farm workers—many of whom are really not migrants because they live in Florida all during the year—they face a bleak future. Some attend school only four months a year, and at 19 or 20 are just beginning to read.

One of them told of why he has dropped out of school. As a migrant child, he said, he does not have shoes or lunch money and the other kids "make fun of me."

A true tear jerker was the interview with Aubrey Grey and his wife. The latter, when asked how a mother feels when she does not have enough food for her children, broke into uncontrollable sobs.

During the making of this documentary, the NBC filming crew encountered considerable hostility from the growers. In one community they were run out of a migrant camp with a shotgun. And Huntley made known that Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida, after having been asked to comment on these conditions in his state, declined to do so.

Anyway, as Chet Huntley remarked, 10 years ago, the late Edward Murrow made a documentary, "Harvest of Shame," dealing with a similar situation, and it is to be hoped that by 1980 it will not be necessary to produce another program of this kind.

[From the News American, Baltimore, Md., July 17, 1970]

PRE-EMPT FOR GOOD OF PUBLIC?

(By Jacob Hay)

To The Management, WBAL–TV.

GENTLEMEN: This, as you will shortly see, is not the column I had expected to write this Thursday evening. You preempted the documentary program I'd planned to review. For the first minute or two I was stunned, and then furious. I tried calling your station and got no answer. I tried calling those of you I know personally. At home. You were all out.

My own phone began ringing: "What gives? No NBC 'White Paper'?" Of course, I had no answer.

Now, as I trust you gentlemen are aware, I try to write this column with no more than the advantages enjoyed by the readers of this newspaper. Perhaps you tried to warn me in advance of this evening's planned preemption. In any event, if warning or explanation there was, I didn't catch it.

So I telephoned a colleague for whose long experience and knowledge of the ways of television I have great respect. Like me, he, too, was a bit confused at the abrupt pre-emption, but he offered a suggestion as to your reasons that made a whole lot of sense; so much sense that I propose to go way, way out on a limb.

And here, gentlemen, I hope to demonstrate that your consistent policy of public responsibility has a pay-off that can't be measured in dollars. Because, without an official word from any one of you, I am prepared to think that your pre-emption was intended for the public good.

Long before this appears in print, you will doubtless have had a good deal of flak from all sides. You will have been called gutless wonders, pushovers from entrenched pressure groups, and such like. You sold free speech down the river, with only the curt announcement that you did not deem this "White Paper" suitable for local showing.

I prefer to think, on the other hand, that you had in mind Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes's reservation to the effect that free speech does not include the right to shout a false alarm of fire in a crowded theater.

If my assumptions are still correct, you were in the position of being damned if you did show "White Paper," and equally damned if you didn't. The easy way out would have been to show it, and consequences be blowed.

But, as no remote network official could possibly be, you were aware of our Baltimore situation, and what the potential effects might be in the incendiary circumstances, and you acted accordingly.

From what I read in the advanced synopsis of this "White Paper," it deserves to be shown, and I expect that in the fullness of time you will show it. It remains that there is a time for everything, however, and I think you recognized this truth, and took the tough way out. Sticks and stones may wreck a ghetto, but names will never hurt you.

As I say, I'm way out on a limb in writing this with no confirmation from you all, but it has been my experience that WBAL–TV does not chicken out when grave public issues are at stake.

No, I wasn't expecting to watch an antique segment of "Cheyenne," beginning at 7:30 this past evening, but I have a sneaking idea that this creaking old Western might have accomplished far more than its producers ever intended.

[From the New York Post, July 17, 1970]

ON THE AIR

(By Bob Williams)

Despite the taint of last-minute alterations, under heavy "pressure" from the giant Coca-Cola Co., NBC's White Paper report on the hopelessly impoverished migrant farm laborers of Florida emerged on the homescreen last night as a searing social documentary.

Producer Martin Carr minimized the changes, which on the one hand credited Coca-Cola with plans for correcting the "failings" of its vast citrus operations, while on the other hand relieving it of major blame for influencing the deplorable living standards of the fruit-pickers.

* * * * * * *

As narrator Chet Huntley noted, the NBC documentary served its purpose in demonstrating that nothing of any beneficial consequence had happened to the misery-ridden farm workers since the late Edward R. Murrow and David Lowe first portrayed their dismal plight on the homescreen in a memorable CBS program, Harvest of Shame, a decade ago.

Last night, Carr and Huntley gave us contrasting pictures of hungry migrants dwelling in slave shacks, subsisting from day to day, while fruit and vegetable growers were driving inquiring reporters away, in one instance at the point of a shotgun. It wasn't all right, in the view of a minor Coca-Cola functionary, for Carr even to conduct a camera interview with a black worker, minus official "permission."

* * * * * * *

The program was filled with heartbreaking statistics. The average Florida farm laborer averages about $891 a year in income. He enjoys no unemployment insurance or workmen's compensation and his offspring are presumably unaffected by federal child labor restrictions.

Huntley took pains to say that the program could have concentrated on other states, in which the growers similarly exploit the uneducated stoop-workers—black, white and Mexican—who follow the crops, from one shack to another.

[From the Washington Post, July 17, 1970]

THE MISERY OF THE MIGRANT WORKER

(By Lawrence Laurent)

Chet Huntley took a look last night (NBC, Channel 4) at Florida's migrant farm laborers in an hour-long "NBC White Paper" called "Migrant". The program is almost certain to touch off protests and complaints in 1970 as Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" did a decade ago.

"Migrant" is the last documentary special in which Huntley will appear before he leaves broadcasting Aug. 1 to go to the Big Sky country of Montana.

Producer Martin Carr made the standard effort to provide balance and fairness—the employers of migrant labor were interviewed and offered their side of the story. Often, however, the employers' oral statements were followed by visual contradictions or rebuttal from a migrant worker.

Florida Gov. Claude Kirk declined an offer to appear on this program, Huntley said.

While Carr attempted the fairness ritualism, Huntley left no doubt about his feelings of shame and indignation. Over footage of a parade celebrating Florida's $1.4 billion harvest, Huntley noted that a migrant worker in the United States earns a yearly average income of $891.

"In the richest country in the world," he said, "the parade passes them by."

Even the term "migrant" has become somewhat of an anachronism in Florida. Few of the workers migrate with the harvest seasons any more because in Florida some kind of work is available eight months of the year.

In fairness to Florida, Huntley pointed out that migrant workers live under similar circumstances in other states.

This was Carr's first documentary for NBC. He spent ten years with CBS, turning out highly emotional and prize-winning programs such as "Hunger in America" and "Gauguin in Tahiti."

An acknowledgement of the late Mr. Murrow's work in this field appeared at both the beginning and end of "Migrant". An opening film clip pictured Mr. Murrow quoting a grower as saying: "We used to own our slaves. Now we just rent them."

Near the end of the program, Huntley expressed the hope that a similar documentary "wouldn't be needed" ten years from now.

Between those two segments were emotion-charged interviews with despair-filled men and women who pick fruit and vegetables. Huntley noted that a migrant worker has a life expectancy of 39 years, or 31 years fewer than the rest of us.

The film showed substandard housing provided for the workers. One man said he and his wife were able to earn an average of $20 a week of which they paid $16 in rent.

Prior to this telecast it was reported that Coca-Cola, owner of Minute Maid orange juice, had caused NBC to edit out footage that was uncomplimentary. NBC News President Rueven Frank flatly denied the charge, adding that "no editing was done for anyone, except for the professional news judgment of NBC News."

Producer Carr shot about 15 hours of film, Frank said, and "nothing was cut as the result of advertiser pressure."

[From the New York Times, July 17, 1970]

TV: Plight of the Migrant Worker

The statistics became people last night on N.B.C.'s documentary white paper, "Migrant."

A man earning $891 a year became a black refugee from the mechanized South; a Mexican-American from the Southwest; a poor white from Michigan, all seeking work in the Florida citrus groves. A family of four earning $2,700 a year became a woman who worked in the bean fields until two weeks before she was ready to give birth; children with distended bellies who can't read; and a man without shoes.

The percentages of migrants—55 per cent blacks, 35 per cent Mexican-Americans, the remaining 10 per cent white, became a sign on a Florida roadstand: "No Niggers, Puertoricans, Mexicans Allowed."

The 800,000 children under 16, most between 10 and 13, who work in the fields became a 15-year-old, who said, "It makes you feel like a bum. I guess that's what I am anyway."

The citrus industry with a $450-million annual gross that translates into 25 billion oranges became cartons of fruit handpicked at 35 cents a carton, a sum that does not multiply into a living wage.

A migrant worker cannot vote. He's ineligible for unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation. His children are not covered by child labor laws. He cannot unionize. The country in part lives off his efforts and yet denies him the benefits of his country.

Efforts are made to rationalize the hovels in which he lives, the prejudice with which he is regarded, the salary he is denied. But he won't go away even if we turn our heads. Ten years ago Edward R. Murrow reminded us that he was there. Last night Chet Huntley and the producer, Martin Carr, poignantly reminded us that he's still there. He won't go away.

FRED FERRETTI.

[By the Associated Press, July 17, 1970]

STILL REAPING "HARVEST OF SHAME"

(By Jerry Buck)

"Migrant," an NBC documentary shown Thursday night, exposed the other side of affluent America and it was neither a pleasant nor an encouraging view. As Chet Huntley pointed out, conditions have improved little since the late Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" was shown on CBS 10 years ago.

The camera was adept at capturing the defeated attitude of the migrants, who are America's lowest-paid and least-protected workers.

One 15-year-old boy, already at work in the fields, said he would not return to school for "nothing" because his classmates made him feel like a "bum." He said, trying to hold back the tears, "I guess I am a bum. I don't have the things other people have."

"Migrant" is likely to make people angry, some because such conditions exist and others for exposing them. Produced by Martin Carr, it ranks as the most significant television documentary of the year and is a fitting valedictory for the retiring Chet Huntley.

[From the Louisville Courier Journal, July 17, 1970]

"MIGRANT"—STILL POWERFUL AS "RERUN"

(By James Doussard, Courier-Journal Television Critic)

Ten years ago, CBS News presented "Harvest of Shame," a documentary about the plight of migrant farm laborers.

Biographer Alexander Kendrick called it the "most powerful television documentary" Edward R. Murrow ever made.

The public was horrified. Farm organizations, too, were horrified—at what they considered highly colored propaganda and deceit.

Last night, NBC News presented "Migrant—an NBC White Paper," a documentary about the plight of migrant farm laborers.

It was Chet Huntley's last documentary. It showed conditions that are bound to horrify public and farm organizations, public officials and farm owners. It concluded that things haven't improved.

Strangely, in a recent phone chat, Huntley soft-pedaled the potential impact of "Migrant."

And he refused to see a parallel between Murrow's big effort and his own documentary swansong.

It was another day's work to Chet. He didn't indicate he thought it would raise much fuss or do much to help the worker.

BLEAK SITUATION, BLEAK OUTLOOK

Whether citing conditions tends to foster their correction remains to be determined. On the other scores, Chet Huntley was wrong.

Controversy has surrounded this show since it was announced in March. Farm groups have damned it in anticipation.

Producer-director Martin Carr, in a New York Times service piece published in Sunday's Courier-Journal & Louisville Times, complained that farm owners, camp owners and state officials refused to state their side of the case on grounds that Carr had predetermined to tell only the worker's side.

To this background, then, came a powerful hour, exploring in very human terms what these migrant workers make, what rent they pay, what work options they have and the fact that the state of Florida has not passed a compulsory workmen's compensation law.

We saw the bleak housing situation and the bleak outlook for remedy, heard that condemned units remain occupied because of the stringency of other accommodations.

In one touching scene, we heard Jackson Bowers, 15, style himself a "bum who dropped out of school because he lacked shoes, clothing and lunch money."

Cries of foul are certain; awards are more than probable.

[From the Washington Star, July 17, 1970]

NBC ALTERS DOCUMENTARY

(By Robert Walters, Star Staff Writer)

The National Broadcasting Co., under pressure from the country's largest grower of citrus products, made two editorial changes in an hour-long network documentary on migrant farm workers a few hours before the show was scheduled to be broadcast last night.

The program has been the subject of a controversy within the broadcasting and food industries for several weeks. The editorial alterations were decided upon yesterday afternoon at a meeting in NBC's New York headquarters.

Among those at the meeting were representatives of the Coca Cola Co., the nation's biggest producer of both soft drinks and orange juice, and two high-ranking network officials, NBC President Julian Goodman and NBC News President Reuven Frank.

FIRM CRITICIZED

Coca Cola was involved in the negotiations because its foods division markets Minute Maid and Snow Crop orange juice and Hi-C drinks. The company's treatment of migrant workers who pick oranges in its big Florida citrus groves was specifically criticized during the documentary program.

Following yesterday's discussion with Coca Cola representatives, NBC officials ordered the insertion of a sentence in the program which said: "Coca Cola is at work on a major plan which it claims will correct the failings in its citrus operation."

At the same time, network officials deleted a sentence which said "Coca Cola sets the standards in the field" which are followed by smaller Florida growers in their treatment of migrant workers—the salaries paid and the working conditions imposed on the fruit pickers.

"ASSISTANCE" OFFERED

A Coca Cola spokesman at the firm's headquarters in Atlanta said his company's foods division had offered its assistance to NBC when production of the program began two or three months ago.

Since that time, he said, there have been "any number of meetings" between officials of the two companies, both in person and by telephone. "The meeting today (Thursday) was merely a continuation of that as far as I know," he said.

Television industry officials said it was unusual, however, to make editorial changes in a news documentary immediately prior to its broadcast. They noted that the show had been previewed for NBC-affiliated stations throughout the country on Wednesday night, in what was understood to be its final form.

The Coca Cola spokesman said the head of its foods division, J. Lucien Smith, and other officials had sought to present the company's position to NBC throughout the program's production, but he insisted that no effort had been made to exercise any control over the documentary's editorial content.

An NBC spokesman said the network had been approached by Coca Cola representatives because "they felt they had been singled out unfairly." At yesterday's meeting, the spokesman said, "they asked for no changes, however. They just wanted to present their views to the (network) management."

The broadcasting company spokesman said following the meeting "NBC News made very minor changes." The alterations were solely the network's decision and were neither requested nor demanded by Coca Cola, the NBC spokesman added.

Other network officials and those present at the meeting said the changes were a direct result of the final round of negotiations between NBC and Coca Cola.

[From the Miami News, Florida Report, Miami, Fla., July 17, 1970]

KIRK SAYS MIGRANT TV SHOW BIASED

(By Hubert Mizell, Associated Press writer)

National television judgment against Florida's migrant labor setup incurred the wrath of the state's chief executive, but the words hardly differed after a decade.

". . . did a great injustice."—Farris Bryant, governor of Florida, following the 1960 CBS–TV expose "Harvest of Shame" with Edward R. Murrow.

". . . completely biased, bigoted and one-sided."—Claude Kirk, governor of Florida, following last night's NBC–TV expose "Migrant" with Chet Huntley.

While state political leaders cried about unfairness, members of Congress from elsewhere expressed concern for the low-paid field and grove workers who harvest Florida's rich citrus and vegetable crops.

"No group is more in need of justice," said Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) regarding the migrant work force. He said his hopes are that "this will arouse Americans so that justice will finally come to our migrant workers."

As the plight of the laborers was shown nationally, migrant worker Dora Mae Dorn sat on her bed with her family and watched on a TV set as yet unpaid for.

"I bought clothes for my children this week," she smiled, "but I had to use my welfare check to do it." Mrs. Dorn is jobless at present since the picking season is over.

Sad faces dominated the hour-long show narrated by Huntley and produced by youthful Martin Carr.

"Poor people like us just don't have a chance," said a black woman on the film. "We have to pick fruit and different stuff. We pick what we can get."

Racial overtones emerged throughout the special. A sign on a backwoods business proclaimed: "No Niggers, Puerto Ricans or Mexicans." Celery King Andrew Duda referred to workers as "darkies" and said "Negro people are fine, but they have to respect you. You get down to their level and they don't respect you."

Huntley pointed out that 55 per cent of the migrant force is black and 35 per cent of Mexican descent.

"If you want to be down and act like a Negro and be dirty and what not," continued Duda, "then they're not going to respect you."

An unidentified farmer said the migrants are "the happiest people I've ever seen. They really enjoy what they're doing."

However, migrant wife Mrs. Aubrey Gay said she did not want her children to suffer the fate of the fields and her interview came to a tearful end with head buried in hands.

A man who said his piecemeal pay in the groves "can't make it," admitted that his wife must work to help their family get along. She worked once while pregnant, not quitting until two weeks before childbirth.

Ernest Jarvis, a black man of 39 who looks 15 years older, said in the documentary that he owes "my landlady money and owe my bossman money."

Jarvis seemed concerned for his years of retirement. Huntley quoted national statistics that claim the average man of the field lives to age 49.

Huntley closed the hour by saying "it's been 10 years since Edward R. Murrow made 'Harvest of Shame' and we hope no one will need to make a film about migrants 10 years from now."

Sen. Edward Gurney (R-Fla.) said the report was "just another example of one-sided reporting of the big television networks." He said the special was "consistent with NBC's policy of pointing out only the bad and ignoring the good."

Gov. Kirk said in Tallahassee that he originally intended to take part in the NBC show, but backed out because he "soon discovered that Mr. Huntley was making absolutely no effort to give the viewers a balanced story."

The only official network comment after the showing was: "We are sorry Gov. Kirk has seen fit not to appear on the program in response to our invitation. However, we believe the program speaks for itself."

Secretary of Agriculture Doyle Conner said he was "disappointed" with one-sided reporting on the expose, but urged NBC to "use its influence to help correct substandard migrant conditions."

Huntley said Florida's 200,000 migrants work on an eight-month picking season and receive no benefits such as workman's compensation, social security. Child labor restrictions are seldom enforced, he said. He quoted a national average income of $891 a year for laborers.

The problems presented by NBC did not involve only minority groups. One migrant, a 15-year-old white boy who had quit school, said that watching other kids eat at lunchtime while he had no food "makes you feel like a bum. I guess that's what I am anyway . . . a bum."

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE OFFICE OF SENATOR EDWARD J. GURNEY, JULY 17, 1970

Washington, D.C.—Senator Edward J. Gurney (R.-Fla.) today called NBC's white paper on migrants "just another example of the one-sided reporting of the big TV networks."

"What Huntley (NBC newscaster Chet Huntley) failed to point out," Gurney said, "was that conditions have improved and are still improving for the migrants over the past 20 years and that great strides have been made in providing comfortable living conditions for these laborers."

Gurney said the fruit and vegetable growers in Florida have made fine progress in improving conditions for migrant laborers. He pointed out the construction of low-cost housing units by growers with modern conveniences and the building of units by county housing authorities that contend with the migrant migration on a yearly basis.

"Of course, there is still room for improvement, but NBC could have shown how conditions have changed in recent years and could have taken a more positive approach. But, since being positive is apparently not the policy of NBC, it chose again to take the negative path. I, at least, am not surprised," Gurney said.

"It was Mr. Huntley who charged recently that President Nixon is a shallow person. I suggest Mr. Huntley take a long at himself to learn what shallowness is all about. His program proved just how shallow his in depth reporting is and demonstrated again his lack of objectivity."

For further information: Mr. Jack Hord, Press Secretary, room 5105, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

[From the Washington Post, July 18, 1970]

OFFICIALS DENOUNCE DOCUMENTARY ON MIGRANTS

Associated Press

New York—Officials of the state of Florida, led by Gov. Claude Kirk, voiced indignation today over the National Broadcasting Co.'s depiction of the life of migrant farm workers in their state.

NBC stood by its documentary, aired Thursday night, and said "the program speaks for itself."

The network also said it made minor last-minute changes in the one-hour special following a meeting with representatives of the Coca Cola Co., which produces fruit juices through the Florida fruit industry.

In Florida, Kirk accused the network of presenting a picture of living and working conditions of fruit pickers in his state that was "completely biased, bigoted and one-sided."

An NBC spokesman said Kirk had been invited to appear on the program and declined.

The changes requested by Coca Cola were "two very minor ones" and were made in an effort to indicate that the corporation was "not the only big offender" in maintaining poor migrant farm worker conditions, the spokesman said.

One change was an addition to the sound track that said, "Coca Cola is at work on a major plan which it claims will correct the failings it has found in its citrus operation."

Another was the deletion of an assertion that Coca Cola and other "giants" of the Florida citrus industry "set the standards for citrus workers in Florida together with smaller growers."

The program showed the migrant workers as predominantly black, forced to live in sub-standard housing, and grossly underpaid. They are subjected to racial discrimination and deprived of such job benefits as workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance, the program said.

Reuven Frank, president of NBC News, said changes were made because the soft drink company "brought us facts we did not have before."

A week before the special was aired, Florida Agriculture Commissioner Doyle Conner charged that it was "one of the most one-sided biased unobjective pieces of reporting ever produced." He requested to appear on the program.

NBC replied by saying it "cannot understand how a man who admits that he hasn't seen the program can call it 'one of the most onesided, biased, unobjective pieces of reporting ever produced.' NBC stands by its journalistic judgment."

Sen. Edward Gurney (R-Fla.) said the report was "just another example of one-sided reporting of the big television networks."

[From the Washington Post, July 19, 1970]

SENATE PANEL TO EXPLORE MIGRANT LABOR SYSTEM

(By George Lardner Jr., Washington Post Staff Writer)

There are about one million of them, counting the children, and their profile is as grim as their pay checks.

Migrant farmworkers keep to the backroads, bouncing across county and state lines in tumbledown buses and cars, picking tomatoes, pulling corn, snapping beans. Hard, back-wrenching labor. Average annual income last year: $891.

It is less than they made four years ago when the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported an average migrant's income from farm work was $1,046.

Mexican-Americans, blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites, they lead chaotic lives, but they keep working, flitting from one dismal labor camp to another, a subculture of squalor and disease.

Even the neglected American Indian gets better health care. According to a Senate subcommittee, the average per capita health expenditure in 1967 for migrants was $7.20. For Indians, it was $170.15.

Many congressional hearings have been held, but little has been accomplished. It is time, says Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D.-Minn.), to find out who is responsible.

For the exponents of agri-business, already smarting from an hour-long NBC–TV documentary Thursday night, it means a discomfiting week.

"Nothing will change until this rotten system is exposed and held accountable," Mondale says. His Senate subcommittee of migratory labor will open hearings Monday aimed, in the chairman's words, at "the powers, the pressures, the politics and the special interests" that keep it going.

Whatever their conduct some of America's biggest corporations have substantial land holdings on which migrant workers are employed. Among them, according to the Project on Corporate Responsibility, are Coca Cola (Minute Maid), Penn Central, Tenneco, the Atlantic Coastline Co. and U.S. Sugar.

The Project, which is run by a group of Washington-based attorneys, has been investigating these and other companies for some time now. It will be called to testify.

"At present," says Philip W. Moore, staff counsel of the public interest organization that cut its teeth on General Motors earlier this year, "a complicated series of corporate lawyers insulates the managers of large corporations from the human suffering which their decisions produce.

"Yet large investors are at least as responsible for the human condition of workers in Florida and Texas as . . . the small farmer."

The first witnesses will be a team of doctors sponsored by the Field Foundation of New York who say their investigation of migrant working conditions in the two states turned up "thousands of our fellow-citizens manipulated and managed in such a way as to reduce them to sub-human status."

In a preliminary report to the subcommittee, the doctors said they found primitive housing, decrepit outhouses, contaminated water, hazardous working conditions and, in Florida, a death rate for mothers and infants up to a third higher than the national average.

One physician reported seeing men without protective gear spraying an insecticide, parathion, on a windy day in Florida. He said children were playing in a yard only 50 feet away. Thirty-two drops of parathion absorbed through the skin, Mondale's subcommittee reported last year, is fatal.

The time of the hearings is no accident. They were calculated to follow the NBC documentary, in hopes of gaining a wider audience. "Admittedly we knew the show was coming and admittedly we scheduled our hearings to follow it," the senator's press secretary, Charles Sonnenborn, said.

The production, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," had been under fire from agricultural interests for weeks.

The Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association sought to prevent its being shown. In letters to NBC President Julian Goodman and Federal Communications Commission Chairman Dean Burch on June 22, the association claimed in advance that it would prove to be a "slanted" news presentation.

Broadcasting it, the association's Washington attorney warned, would prompt the fruit and vegetable men to challenge the FCC's continued licensing of any station taking part in the telecast.

George F. Sorn, the association's labor division manager in Orlando, followed this up with similar communications reportedly sent July 1 to NBC's seven affiliates in Florida, this time expressing fears of a "completely slanted documentary on migrants and migrant conditions" in that state. Three of the stations decided to cancel it, the Palm Beach Post-Times reported last Tuesday, but then changed their minds after the news story appeared.

The NBC–TV affiliate in Fort Worth, Tex., WBEP–TV, however, cancelled the Thursday showing. "The primary thing was the threat of opposition at license renewal time," program director Bob Gould said.

His station, he explained, didn't get a closed-circuit preview of the documentary until Thursday afternoon and wanted more time to consider it.

Subsequently, Gould said, WBEP decided to run the program scheduling the show for Sunday afternoon. Public reaction to the cancellation, he said, was "enormous."

Representatives of the Coca Cola Co., which owns Minute Maid and Snow Crop orange juice, put the pressure on NBC executives in New York at a reportedly "angry" meeting Thursday afternoon.

The documentary criticized Coca-Cola for its treatment of migrant workers in the company's Florida citrus groves.

Although NBC News President Reuben Frank subsequently insisted that "nothing was cut as the result of advertiser pressure," slight changes were made following the meeting.

Contending that it was still slanted, Sen. Edward J. Gurney (R-Fla.) denounced the show, and narrator Chet Huntley, the next day. Gurney said the program was "just another example of the one-sided reporting of the big TV networks."

"What Huntley failed to point out," Gurney said in a press release, "was that conditions have improved and are still improving for the migrants over the past 20 years and that great strides have been made in providing comfortable living conditions for these laborers."

The Field Foundation doctors, who did their most extensive work in Texas, were disappointed, too. NBC, they complained, took plenty of film there, but then left it out in a decision to limit the documentary to Florida.

Sen. Mondale, in any event, has invited representatives of Coca-Cola, farmer and grower groups, and NBC officials, including producer Carr, to testify in view of the reports that the network had been under pressure "to alter or censor" the show.

Subcommittee Counsel Boren Chertkov said some prospective witnesses would not appear because of "personal threats, harrassment, intimidation."

As for balance, Carr has said, the growers themselves frustrated some of NBC's best efforts, refusing to talk on the grounds that the network would tell only the migrant's side. Gov. Claude Kirk, the producer reported, took substantially the same position.

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

NBC–TV's 'Migrant' Migraine

NET ROUGHED-UP PRE-PRODUCTION

(By Bill Greeley)

From the farm fields of Florida to the viewer production of NBC–TV's "Migrant" was a pressure cooker which exemplifies the odds against electronic "White Paper" journalism these days.

On location, the producers were threatened at gun point and harassed pre- and mid-interview, and scheduled interviews dried up in the severe heat of the Florida sun, or something.

But the hardest pressures, in broadcast industry terms, was turned on in Washington, New York City and virtually every NBC affiliate city, town and hamlet down the line.

Threatening letters—in a legal sense—were fired off by the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association's legal counsel in Washington to FCC Chairman Dean Burch, NBC president Julian Goodman, NBC News president Reuben Frank, newsman Chet Huntley and "Migrant" producer-director Martin Carr and affiliate general managers across the country.

"Doing A Job" on Coke

At the network level, the real crunch came last week when Goodman and Frank were stormed by "angry" Coca-Cola officials demanding changes in the show. The company's food division—including Minute Maid, Hi C and Snowcrop—were named and scored in the documentary, primarily via an interview with a poverty-stricken Negro woman in her rural slum shanty owned by Coca-Cola Food Co. (the interview was interrupted by a company representative, with it all captured on camera).

In fact, Coca-Cola president J. Paul Austin phoned Goodman, reportedly "screaming" charges that the whole "Migrant" project was aimed at doing "a bitch job on Coke." As high insiders at the network read it, Austin is interested moving into public life with the current Administration and feared personal reputation might be damaged by the show's expose.

Screened In Houston

Coca-Cola Foods is headquartered in Houston, and two representatives of the company screened the show when it was put on closed-circuit for affiliates last Wednesday (15) afternoon. They had requested permission to view the presentation, having received word of Coke Foods' involvement, and the NBC Houston affiliate KPRC agreed, figuring it had an obligation under the legal pressures and controversy already raging pre-broadcast.

The legal pressure at the station level came in the form of a letter early this month to affiliate managements from the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association: "This Association is in receipt of news which have caused us great concern over the possibility of NBC News televising a completely slanted documentary on migrants and migrant conditions in Florida.

"Our Washington attorneys have registered our concern with the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and to the president of NBC. We are attaching copies of this correspondence for your information and consideration . . ."

Letter To The Chairman

The letter to Dean Burch, dated June 22, was from the Washington law firm of L. Alton Denslow & Joseph O. Parker. It advised that the Association had sent a letter to Chet Huntley May 27 expressing its "concern that a 'documentary' which has been filmed in Florida by NBC News will, according to reports in the press and statements allegedly made by persons in the employ of NBC News, be designed to convey the impression that little or nothing has been attempted or accomplished in the state of Florida over the past 10 years intervening since the CBS film, 'Harvest of Shame,' to improve the living, working and other conditions of migrant agricultural workers."

The letter further advised that NBC had been supplied with "documented, factual information" regarding improvements in the education, housing, employment, working conditions, welfare assistance and otherwise" for migrant workers (the show attacked the static migrant conditions on every point cited in the letter).

The letter stated that a biased presentation "could result in grave injustice to the people of the state of Florida, particularly the workers and their employers."

The clincher: "If the film is shown by a licensee of the Commission and is in fact a slanted news presentation, Florida Fruit & Vegetable Assn. will request the Commission to specify and issue as to whether such licensee is adequately discharging its responsibilities so as to warrant its continuing to be a licensee." That, of course, is legalese for license challenge.

The letter to Julian Goodman of the same date requested that "you bring the views which we express here to the responsible operators of each station to which this documentary will be offered."

The show was put on closed-circuit with a preface by NBC veepee of affiliate relations Don Mercer which cited the hassle with the Association, but said that he (Mercer) had every assurance from those involved that it was a "hard-hitting" show "in the 'White Paper' tradition."

As one NBC affiliate put it, "If you saw the show you must realize there is nothing in it actionable."

Perhaps not. But in the past, the aftermath of recent muckraking telementaries has been even more harassing and costly than the prelude to "Migrant's" airing. Producer Martin Carr became something of a Washington commuter after his "Hunger in America" on CBS. He'll start that trek again this week as the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor began hearings this week (which were timed to dovetail with the NBC show). J. Paul Austin also was invited to testify. It could be lively.

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

NBC's "MIGRANT" DEFECTORS

NBC–TV affiliates generally withstood all the heat from the Florida Vegetable & Fruit Assn. and aired the network's hard-hitting "Migrant" telementary.

WSYR–TV Syracuse, however, declined the show (one observer pointed out that the upstate New York (Syracuse) area has its own migrant workers and just might be waiting for a good show on them). WBAL–TV Baltimore also preempted it (see separate story).

WBAP–TV in Dallas-Ft. Worth at first cancelled the show, but decided later to air it Sunday at 4:30 p.m.

All seven Florida affiliates carried "Migrant," the one in Ft. Myers doing so with a disclaimer bucking any blame to the network.

There were three other cancellations, but for a very special reason. WLW–TV Cincinnati, WTRF Wheeling and WLEX Lexington were all previously committed to the Great American Pastime and went with the Pirates-Reds baseball game that night. At this writing, none had aired "Migrant" on delay.

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

(With Chet Huntley, Martin Carr, others; Producer-Director: Martin Carr; Writers: Marilyn Nissenson, Carr; 60 Mins., Thurs. 7:30 p.m., NBC–TV (film))

When an old fashioned (circa 1950–'60) muckraking telementary like this one appears on the home screen it's as though a flock of rare whooping cranes swooped into the room.

Under the imprint of the commercial networks' news departments, the tube has been loaded in primetime with travelogs to the Sahara, the Great Barrier Reef, Alaska, Siberia and other far-flung locales where the geographic exotics tend to obscure from amateur viewers the cheapness of the productions.

Then with shocking suddenness, the viewer is thrust into the poverty-stricken, shanty-ridden backside of Florida's vast fruit and vegetable lands. And the adventure is not spearing the great whale, but the multi-billion dollar food industry with forceful determination keeping the field workers ill fed, clothed and sheltered, and uneducated.

The last time a shock wave like this rolled out of the tube was a year and a half ago when the same producer-director, Martin Carr, produced "Hunger in America" for CBS News. And "Migrant" was an update on the renowned Ed Murrow-David Lowe documentary of 10 years ago, "Harvest of Shame." In between there was producer Mort Silverstein's volatile expose of the plight of the Long Island migrant worker for National Educational Television.

After 10 years, NBC's "Migrant" could begin and proceed exactly as CBS' "Harvest of Shame" did, for nothing but nothing has changed. "Migrant" began with footage borrowed from CBS News showing the late Ed Murrow in the fields in a declaration of the inhumanity and greed suffered by the workers which has lost none of its meaning and only gained in poignancy over 10 years.

"Migrant" had a full share of sensationally dramatic elements, from the sign reading, "No Niggers, Puerto Ricans or Mexicans Allowed," to a migrant mother bursting into tears on camera when prompted to dwell on the hopeless poverty of her family and the 15-year-old grade-school dropout who considered himself a bum.

But the real thrust of the piece was in its focus on the growers (one who admitted an annual gross of $20,000,000 only to beg a marginal operation) and a faceless American food industry whose guilt over its own monstrous inhumanity and greed is so submerged it only manifests in an angry, frustrated effort to keep the whole mess a secret.

On camera, viewers watched confrontations between producers and the guilty, as the latter broke into interviews in progress. Most telling of these incidents was a representative of Coca Cola Food Co. attempting to rout producer Carr from an interview with a tenant of one of the company's filthy, substandard shanties. Named as rural slum lords and/or slave-wage employers were Coca Cola—via Snowcrop, Hi C and Minute Maid subsidiaries—Tropicana, Donald Duck and others in the $400,000,000 Florida citrus industry.

Off-camera, Coca Cola turned on all the pressure it could muster to kill the expose. Some changes were made, but the impact remained.

Through it all, narrator Chet Huntley seemed something of a stand-in, on mike backing and filling with statistics from the vegetable patch. But, under the circumstances of severe pressures during the entire production, it's fair to report here that more than one interview scheduled for Huntley folded.

The real tragedy of "Migrant" is that commercial television, as an extension of Madison Ave., has become so unsuited to this kind of show. Besides all that heat from a multi-million dollar TV advertiser (Coca Cola), the show didn't carry a single commercial.

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

Coke's NBC Buys

When NBC–TV last week clashed with Coca-Cola over the network's documentary, "Migrant," it clashed with a major sponsor.

For the coming season, Coke has already bought between $2,000,000 and $2,500,000 worth of participating blurbs in NBC primetime. In a total buy of about 50 minutes, Coke has scheduled blurbs in Red Skelton, Don Knotts, the Tuesday and Saturday movies, "Men From Shiloh," "Four in One," Flip Wilson, "High Charparral," "Name of the Game," Andy Williams, "Adam 12" and "First Tuesday."

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

Florida Growers Want Equal Time for NBC "Migrant"

The Florida Fruit and Vegetable Assn. is asking NBC–TV for equal time to answer what it called the network's "biased and innacurate" portrayal of Florida migrant workers in last week's NBC News telementary, "Migrant."

Assn.'s manager of the labor division George F. Sorn issued the following statement: "It doesnot appear that NBC made any substantial effort to balance the one-sided presentation in spite of the fact that they had in their possession massive factual documentation provided by this Association which clearly shows the many improvements made before the program was filmed. Biased on the apparent inaccuracies and bias and because of their damaging aspects not only to Florida agriculture and the state of Florida, but also to the workers themselves we will request equal time so that a proper balance may be offered the nation's television viewers."

Sorn said that the Association's action does not preclude possible additional action by individuals who appeared in the film.

As of this writing, NBC said it had not received the Association request.

[From Variety, July 22, 1970]

Balto Affil Subs Oater for "Migrant"; See Political Motive

WBAL–TV, NBC–TV affiliated, turned down the network's "Migrant" a move, that gave the switchboard a busy evening. No one knew the station was going to preempt until announcement was made before a "Cheyenne" rerun was subbed, and then the calls began, presumably those who couldn't pick up Washington's Channel 4 and from those who just wanted to be heard.

The official statement made by station management was that the station "has previewed the program and finds its unacceptable for airing at this time."

Later, one of those "sources close to management" said it was because "Migrant" contained "racial slurs against Negroes" and still another source said the move was a "political one," meaning Maryland has its migrants, too.

NBC sources in N.Y. said WBAL-TV general manager Brent O. Gunts advised the web, after the screening to affils on closed-circuit, that the station found the program "objectionable."

ROANOKE, VA., *July 22, 1970.*

Sen. WALTER MONDALE,
U.S. Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: In reference to the enclosed article, I would like to complain that the local NBC station, Channel 10, in Roanoke did not carry Migrant—an NBC White Paper. On Thursday when it was regularly scheduled, they carried a horror movie and said that they did not pick up national programs until 8:30 PM and that it would be broadcast locally the following Saturday at 5 PM. On Saturday at 5 PM they showed a western movie. I talked to the secretary of the station manager on Monday and she told me that NBC had refused to allow the program to be rebroadcast on Saturday. At this point I was just very unhappy but accepted the explanation. However, after reading the enclosed article I have become rather skeptical. I was quite anxious to see this program and feel resentful that because we are now living in the South our TV programs may be subject to local biased censorship.

Originally, I had planned on writing to Mr. Huntley, but feel that you may be in a position to do more about it. Being a native Washingtonian and never really having a senator (except our old ball club which your state now has) to call my own, I will adopt you, since you represent my husband's home state (Osakis, Minn.) and all of his relatives are still living there.

As a Girl Scout, more than 25 years ago, I remember packing oil cloth kits for the migrant children, containing soap, toothpaste and brushes. It is indeed horrible that in all this time so little progress has been made in the living conditions of these poor people. There is not much that I can do to help this cause, except boycott Coca Cola, Minute Maid and Snow Crop products, which I intend to do.

One of your colleagues is a very old and dear friend, Dr. Floyd Riddick. Please remember me to him when you see him.

Very truly yours,

JOAN INDIA FRASER.

SENATOR VOWS TO EXPOSE THE GUILTY IN MIGRANT PROBE

Washington (AP)—A senator probing alleged sub-human conditions among migrant farm workers promised today an exposé of who is responsible—"institutions or persons; government or agribusiness; federal, state or local."

"Nothing will change until this rotten system is exposed and held accountable," Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., said in a statement for today's opening of a two-day inquiry by his subcommittee on migrants.

The first scheduled witness was Dr. Raymond Wheeler of Charlotte, N.C., one of a team of foundation-sponsored doctors who visited Texas and Florida migrant camps earlier this year and reported that workers were deliberately kept in "sub-human status."

Mondale noted the hearings follow last Thursday's television documentary "Migrant—An NBC White Paper," which he said "documented evidence of the squalor, degradation and racism which our nation bestows upon the migrants."

He also noted a similar documentary, the late Edward R. Murrow's "Harvest of Shame," had aired much the same migrant conditions 10 years earlier.

"Perhaps our greatest shame is how little we have done in this decade," Mondale said. "We must see to it that there will be no such documentary in 1980."

"We know the problems," he said. "We must now turn to the question of why we have accomplished so little. What are the powers, the pressures, the politics and the special interests that have perpetuated this degradation who has opposed the investigations of these conditions, and who has endeavored to suppress the truth."

Mondale said he had invited officials of NBC and the Coca-Cola company to testify about reports Coca-Cola pressured the network to tone down its documentary on migrants. Coca-Cola, which owns the Minute Maid and Snow Crop brands of orange juice, is a major Florida citrus producer.

Mondale said he also had invited representatives of growers associations to testify about reported pressure. The Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association wrote NBC President Julian Goodman and Federal Communications Chairman Dean Burch on June 22 warning it would oppose relicensing of any station taking part in the "slanted" broadcast.

The subcommittee has reported pressures of its own. Last Friday Boren Chertkov, the subcommittee counsel, said some persons had declined to testify because of "personal threats, harrassment, intimidation." He said he could not name the persons without endangering them.

EDITORIAL BROADCAST BY ED HINSHAW

(WTMJ–TV at 10:25 p.m., Thursday, July 16, and 12:30 a.m., Friday, July 17, 1970)

HINSHAW. Earlier tonight, WTMJ–TV broadcast the NBC News Special, "The Migrant"—dealing with the plight of the itinerant farm worker.

NBC reporters developed many unpleasant and even painful scenes bearing upon the working and living conditions among casual farm laborers.

Before the broadcast, this station—along with many other NBC affiliates—received communications from the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, implying that the growers would seek reprisals against stations which showed the program, such reprisals perhaps including an attempt to have broadcast licenses revoked.

The program itself, those on our staff who saw it felt, was not an outstanding piece of journalism, but it was prepared by competent professional journalists of known integrity.

WTMJ–TV, therefore, decided to carry that program.

This incident, however, raises a larger issue: Should the threat of possible governmental action to punish broadcasters be used in an attempt to thwart your right to know—your right to know that reporters believe they have to report, your right to know the unpleasant along with the pleasant?

We think you want NBC, WTMJ–TV, and other television reporters to tell it as they see it—through their human eyes.

We believe in your right to know.

But—we're most eager to learn your reaction to these policies.

And—we welcome your opinion on WTMJ–TV's handling of this NBC News Special, "The Migrant" . . . and of the many other controversial subjects which confront our society today.

Won't you please sit down and write us—immediately after this program—and tell us what you think?

BALTIMORE, MD., *July 20, 1970.*

MR. MELVIN COHEN,
4215 Penhurst Avenue,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR MR. COHEN: WBAL–TV regrets any concern that our not showing the NBC Program, "The Migrant", on Thursday, July 16 may have caused you.

Under the law WBAL–TV is solely and totally responsible for what it broadcasts and can not delegate this responsibility to anyone.

Nearly ten days in advance of July 16, we advised NBC that a closed circuit preview showing of this program would be highly desirable. We and other stations throughout the country have done this many times in the past.

NBC–TV did not make the program available for preview until 5 pm on Wednesday, July 15. The reason given being that the program was still being edited and assembled.

It was our considered reaction from the preview that this important subject needed further investigation and consideration and that the program was not acceptable for broadcast by WBAL–TV in its present form.

We so advised NBC early on Thursday, but did not receive word back from them until nearly 5 PM Thursday evening that they intended to go ahead with the program as previewed.

Thank you for your interest.

Cordially,

BRENT O. GUNTS.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 14, 1970]

ABC AFFILIATE TO BROADCAST NBC'S DOCUMENTARY ON MIGRANTS

The NBC documentary on migrant workers that was canceled last month by WBAL, the network's Baltimore affiliate, will be shown Saturday, August 29, by WJZ, the ABC affiliate here.

The hour-long program will be shown at 9:30 P.M., followed by a WJZ documentary on migrant workers in the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia.

For Free

NBC, apparently irked that its Baltimore station was the only NBC affiliate not to carry the program, is letting WJZ use the documentary for nothing.

"They were surprised and very pleased that we asked them for it," said Alan Bell, WJZ's general manager.

The documentary, called "Migrant," depicts the lives of migrant workers, primarily in Florida. The WBAL cancellation last July 16 apparently was because of racial epithets spoken by white farmer in the program.

However, Brent Gunts, WBAL's general manager, refused again yesterday to go beyond the station's previous statement that the program "was found unacceptable for viewing at this time."

Rerun, Instead

A rerun of the cowboy series, Cheyenne, was shown instead, prompting hundreds of irate viewers to call the station to complain. Others watched the program over Washington NBC affiliate on Channel 4.

The next day the station was picketed and the Baltimore Council of the AFL–CIO threatened to boycott its advertisers. One of the AFL–CIO unions, the United Farm Workers, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, has been instrumental in organizing migrant grape-pickers in California.

Mr. Gunts said yesterday that the picketing and attempted boycott had little economic effect on the station.

Mr. Bell, his counterpart at WJZ, said the idea to show the program originated with the personnel at the local station.

"We feel we have an obligation to present to our viewers what is happening in this area," he said.

Show Tragedy

Mr. Bell added that the station's documentary on Maryland and Virginia migrants will show the "tragedy of this institution."

The documentary, done by the station's investigative reporter, Christopher Gaul, will show workers being "shanghied" off the streets in Baltimore and taken to a farm near Cape Charles in Virginia, Mr. Bell said.

[From the Washington Post, July 29, 1970]

CONFESSIONS AND DENIALS OF MIGRANT OPPRESSION

The pain and tragedy that is a daily part of the migrant subculture has been going on for too long for anyone to pretend shock at the latest disclosures on NBC television and from Senate hearings. The only fact that may be overlooked in this ongoing story of endured misery is that the nation's 100,000 migrant workers are not restricted to the Florida citrus groves. Their "chaos of movement"—to use the phrase of Dr. Robert Coles, long a friend of migrant workers—extends to nearly all parts of the United States, from the potato fields of eastern Long Island to the fruit orchards of the Yakima Valley in the State of Washington.

What is new in the recent events is the reaction of the citrus grove owners in Florida. First, there is the testimony before a Senate subcommittee of J. Paul Austin, president of Coca-Cola, whose subsidiaries, Minute Maid, Hi-C and Snow Crop, employ over 1,000 migrant workers in their groves. Mr. Austin admitted that conditions in his company's camps were filthy and wretched. He then pledged his company to a long-range plan that would vastly improve the living conditions of Coke's migrant employees. Mr. Austin and Coke are now on record as vowing to take positive action. They will be watched closely by more than a few reporters, as well as public defenders like Philip Moore of the Project on Corporate Responsibility.

The second testimony was that of George Wedgworth, a Florida grower and spokesman for the state's Fruit and Vegetable Association. "I feel there was much sneakiness on the (NBC) film," said Wedgworth. In contrast to the admissions of Mr. Austin, Mr. Wedgworth doggedly stuck to what he considered was the bright side of things, if not the only side of things; flying directly in the face of the enormous evidence of misery, he claimed that "extensive progress (has been) made towards the betterment of working and living conditions" of the migrant workers.

What comes through from the contrasting testimony of Mr. Austin and Mr. Wedgworth is that great resistance will be offered by the growers at the local level despite the good intentions of far-off board room reformers. Migrant oppression has been institutionalized for so long that one conversion does not by any means ensure immediate change. If the growers can send before Congress a defiant spokesman such as Mr. Wedgworth, it is painful to imagine the effects of their group arrogance back home among the poor who work for them.

Until the government takes seriously the rights and needs of these half-enslaved people that are forced to be nomads, great violence will continue to be inflicted on them. As for the reason why, Sen. Walter Mondale, after hearing from Coca-Cola and the growers' spokesman offered the obvious: "There is money to be made off poverty."

[From the Washington Star, July 27, 1970]

AN AGNEWVIAN VIEW OF MIGRANTS

(By Mary McGrarry)

When you've seen one congressional hearing on migrant workers, you've seen them all, as the vice president might say.

But this year's version ended on a slightly different note. Sen Walter F. Mondale, on the last day, produced a witness who proved to be a veritable Agnew of agriculture, a man who said the problem was not the migrants' plight, but the sensational press which called attention to it.

George Wedgworth, past president and member of the executive committee of the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, is a tanned and silver-haired grower who was carrying on a family tradition of objecting to television documentaries which insist on showing that migrants live under conditions that are intolerable, unspeakable and a disgrace to democracy.

Wedgworth's mother, a co-owner of the family acres, 10 years ago led the protest against a CBS documentary made by the late Edward R. Murrow and called "Harvest of Shame."

Wedgworth came to Washington to express his indignation against NBC, which two weeks ago showed a documentary which also depicted what Wedgworth called "the bad side."

Nothing has happened to the migrant workers in the intervening decade, said a final witness, except that conditions have grown worse. James M. Pierce, of the National Sharecroppers Fund, called congressional hearings on the subject a waste of time.

He had only come, he said wearily, so that Wedgworth should not be allowed to "sell his fairy tales" to the subcommittee and the nation.

Wedgworth's indictment of NBC was wonderfully Agnewvian. The film will, he said, "alienate the worker" and "polarize the migrant situation." It was "unbiased," "unfair," "unbalanced" and "sneaky journalism."

"When the committees and the film companies come down to Florida," he fumed, "they surround around them the people that want to show the bad."

What the good was, he never said, although he handed the committee a bundle of material relating to "improvements" and he spoke vaguely of "self-help" and "home-ownership."

The good side of migrant existence surely cannot be found on Wedgworth's domain. He has on his property a 50-room boardinghouse where 200 workers live during the harvest, "free, at no cost."

It is, he admitted, "marginal housing" by state and county codes. Pierce had sent a team down to look at it and in a report to the committee termed it a "monstrosity," with no indoor plumbing, two showers and no fire-escape. It was built in 1936.

When Mondale questioned Wedgworth about the bathroom facilities, he said stiffly, "I do not believe that is accurate—I really don't know."

But he did know that he would be "attacked in the press," he cried, and he wanted to "phase out" the camp. He would do it tomorrow morning "provided someone can find a place for these people to live."

No one inquired about his profits.

Wedgworth, triumphantly unreconstructed, suffered by contrast to another executive who had seen the light and came before the committee as a sinner who was making amends.

J. Paul Austin, president of the Coca-Cola Co., belatedly, in 1968, discovered the writings of the grape-pickers organizer, Cesar Chavez.

On finding that Coca-Cola was indeed providing the same wretched life for its citrus workers, he went into action, drew up an elaborate scheme for housing health, insurance, social service. So far, he admitted, the only results have been acquisition of 10 buses with toilet facilities to follow the workers into the field, but he is determined.

The NBC film, in which Coca-Cola was named, was accurate, Austin said humbly. If nothing else worked, he was in favor of giving the workers the right to organize, a right wrested from the California growers after years of effort by Chavez.

Wedgworth, who obviously regarded Austin as a traitor to his class, was cool to Austin's scheme for a National Alliance of Agri-Businessmen "to train and employ in dignity and with fair wages the migrant workers of our nation."

The committee was on the whole encouraged. Corporations with conscience-enlightened executives like Austin can change the wretchedness of the migrant worker. As for Wedgworth, it is likely he will go back to Florida to wait for the next documentary and pray that no Cesar Chavez rises up among his workers.

Senator MONDALE. This morning we have as our first witnesses Mr. J. Paul Austin, President of the Coca-Cola Co., and Mr. J. Lucian Smith, President, Coca-Cola Co. Foods Division.

We are pleased to have you here this morning, Mr. Austin, if you will proceed.

STATEMENT OF J. PAUL AUSTIN, PRESIDENT, COCA-COLA CO; ACCOMPANIED BY J. LUCIAN SMITH, PRESIDENT, COCA-COLA CO. FOODS DIVISION

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I am accompanied by Mr. J. Lucian Smith, the president of the Coca-Cola Co. Foods Division.

Although the Coca-Cola Co., grows only some 3 percent of the Florida citrus crop, we have become directly involved in the problems of the migrant worker. Throughout the United States, there are some 3 million farmworkers; more than 250,000 of them are characterized, in the terms of this committee's 1969 report, as migratory workers. The Coca-Cola Co., employs in its citrus groves in Florida, approximately

300 full-time groves employees and a daily average of about 1,000 seasonal workers—migrants—over the 8 month orange harvesting period.

As a citizen I am concerned about the plight of every migratory worker in the Nation; as a corporate executive, I am directly responsible for the migratory workers employed by my company. For the past year and a half, we have been examining the problem of the migrant in our citrus groves in an attempt to develop a program through which he can live and work in human dignity and economic security. The question we have asked is not whether to help the migrant worker, but how to help him—in a lasting way for himself and his family.

As this committee well knows, the problem of the migratory worker in America is an enormously complicated one. It is, first and foremost, a human problem of severe psychological isolation. It is an economic problem involving health, education and citizenship, and family structure. The migrant worker has problems of malnutrition, physical handicap and mental health, and most significantly, he suffers from a profound sense of futility.

To the migrant, the problem seems overwhelming. To the migrant's employer and the migrant's government, the problem is equally complex and frustrating. Money can build houses and buy food, but money alone cannot provide the environment in which a man can live and grow with human dignity, economically secure in a life motivated by hope for himself and his children.

We do not pretend to have all the answers to this complex question, but we are determined to do something about it. Portions of the program we have instituted may not work as we planned, but we are dedicated to a persistent and successful effort to place the employees in our groves on a parity with all other company employees.

Our interest in citrus operations began with the acquisition of the Minute Maid Co. in 1960. In the summer of 1967, these operations became part of a new company division, the Coca-Cola Foods Division, of which Mr. J. Lucian Smith was appointed president.

In late 1968, I began to read more and more about the crusade of Cesar Chavez in California on behalf of migrant labor. I called Mr. Smith in Houston and asked him to make certain that workers in our groves were not living in the substandard conditions that Mr. Chavez described for the workers in California. Mr. Smith personally visited the groves in December 1968. He was so upset by what he saw that he came immediately to Atlanta to talk to me. He told me that many of the migrants in our groves were living in conditions that "could not in conscience be tolerated by the Coca-Cola Co." At that meeting he and I agreed that we must establish a program to correct these conditions and commit whatever funds and talent were necessary to do the job.

At that meeting I told Mr. Smith that my experience as vice chairman of the National Alliance for Businessmen had convinced me that the so-called "unemployables" could be placed on corporate payrolls and with appropriate job training and special care were capable of becoming permanent members of the Nation's labor force.

Our first instinct was to move promptly and change the physical situation in which the migrant worker found himself trapped. We soon realized, however, that merely to provide housing and transportation, without facing up to the basic human problems involved, would do little more than temporarily ease the hardship of the migratory worker. A culture of despair and poverty, vested by generations of neglect, had to be rooted out and replaced. To do so involved the entire spectrum of social services and skills: child care, nutrition, adult education, psychological assistance, and medical treatment.

We established a task force of both company personnel and outside consultants, including Scientific Resources Inc. (SRI) of Union, N.J. The task force used a variety of study techniques.

Mr. Chairman, I think this report might have a unique feature to it. We don't know of a report of the type and depth of this group having been made before to the Senate that it has been.

I would like to set forth some of the highlights.

Senator MONDALE. Is that report available in full for the committee?

Mr. AUSTIN. We don't have it with us, no, sir.

During February 1970, SRI sent three men and one woman into our citrus groves, one of whom worked as a migrant so that he could experience the life of the migrant in his job and his environment.

They talked to the migrant workers and their families and interviewed them in depth, to discover their psychological attitudes and their view of their major problems and needs.

They examined the housing of our migrant workers, and their problems in obtaining health care, education, and other basic social services from the private sector as well as from Government agencies.

They discussed the plight of the migratory workers with local, State, and Federal officials in Florida and representatives of local groups, religious and social, that had been active in the field for many years.

The task force made its recommendations to me in March of this year. I approved the recommendations and their immediate implementation, through Mr. Smith, of course. Mr. William Kelly, an experienced personnel executive of our company, who was a member of the task force, was appointed a vice president of the foods division with the sole duty of getting this job done.

We all realized that if the program were to be a success, it was essential that the migrant workers themselves participate in the development of the solution to their own problems. In recent years as a result of our Nation's experience with a variety of antipoverty programs, we have come to recognize the importance of self-help and above all, participation by the disadvantaged themselves in programs to raise their standard of living. We believe this is also true with respect to the migrant worker. He is the individual most immediately affected by our program and if it is to have its maximum impact, he must recognize that he has within himself the capability—the power—of improving his condition.

Many of the most important segments of our program were suggested by the migrant workers. For example, they repeatedly expressed the need to identify with the company, the desire to own or rent their own homes at fair prices, the need for job security and life and health insurance, for training programs and grievance procedures, for better communications with their superiors, and a real measure of involvement in the communities in and near which they live.

From the company's standpoint we wish to identify those among our migrant workers with the basic talent and leadership ability to rise not only in our citrus operations but throughout the whole structure of our organization. Every migrant with the talent and ability to do so will have the same opportunities to rise in the Coca-Cola Co. as any of our other employees. One of the key responsibilities of the vice president in charge of this program will be to identify and help motivate the migrant workers with this potential. In short, our plan is to place every groves and harvesting worker in the same status as every other employee of the Coca-Cola Co.

THE SEASONAL HARVESTING EMPLOYEES

Last year, during the 8 month orange harvesting period, the Coca-Cola Co. employed an average of 1,000 seasonal harvesting workers per day. Like most of the Florida citrus industry, they had no health, retirement or life insurance plans, and no job security. There are 86 housing units for their families and dormitories to accommodate about 400 male workers. In this group we found a deep sense of hopelessness and futility.

These are the migrants who work only during the harvesting season, and then often only a few days a week. We believe that our first responsibility is to provide as much full-time employment as we can for these workers. Beginning with a selected group, we intend to provide full-time employment with all the benefits that the Coca-Cola Co. provides to its other full-time employees. This will include the same retirement and life insurance plans, the same 2 to 4 weeks vacations and eight holidays, and the opportunity to enter the same training programs.

As full-time employees they will also be entitled to participate in the same tuition refund plans available to all Coca-Cola employees.

Currently the seasonal harvesting employee is paid by the piece. Beginning with this first group of harvesting employees, we will provide a basic hourly wage, on top of which piece work bonuses will be paid, somewhat similar to the salary and commission arrangement for salesmen of many major corporations. The combined salary and bonus will be significantly higher than the money they are presently making. In this way, we hope to combine a sense of security, both in pay and in job, along with the incentive necessary to maintain and increase productivity. If this program works and productivity increases—as we believe it will—we propose to extend it to cover 200 employees by the end of its first year of operation; 500 in 2 to 3 years and at least two-thirds of our harvesting employees in 5 to 7 years.

We plan to organize our harvesting of oranges and lemons, and the work that must be done in the groves to maintain and care for the trees during the nonharvesting period, in a way that will provide full-time employment for the largest possible number of migrants. We must replace generations of despair with hope and ambition and this will require a major and concerted array of social services. Sufficient time and patient understanding are essential.

Although our objective is to convert as many seasonal employees to full-time status as possible, the process will of necessity be gradual. During transition and thereafter we will need a number of migrant seasonal employees to handle the peak harvesting load. These seasonal harvesting employees will be placed in the same status as other seasonal employees of the company, such as many of the men who work in our processing plants. Their pay will be increased, and they will be covered by special life insurance and health care plans. Their dormitories will be modern and sanitary with adequate recreational facilities. They will be offered three meals a day at cost and will be provided, free of charge, with transportation to and from neighboring communities. We hope to instill in these migrants the desire to become full-time employees of the company.

FULL-TIME GROVES EMPLOYEES

Our task force revealed that the pay and benefits of full-time groves employees were in line with local citrus industry standards, rather than with the standards of the Foods Division. Thus, these employees had no retirement plan, only 1 week of vacation and five holidays per year. They received health benefits only after 1 year of employment and life insurance benefits of $1,000.

Effective September 1, our plan will place these employees in the same status as all other full-time Coca-Cola employees. They will be included in the company retirement plan. They will receive 2 to 4 weeks vacation each year depending on their length of service. Their health insurance benefits will become effective 30 days after employment and life insurance benefits will be raised to $5,000. Their wages will be initially increased by 23 percent.

HOUSING

At present we provide housing rent free to approximately 60 percent of our groves employees. The remaining 40 percent rent or own their homes. It will always be necessary for some of our employees to live in the groves. For them, we will provide modern and sanitary housing and dormitories and the maintenance services necessary to keep that housing clean, decent, and livable.

Early in our strategic planning, however, our long range objective was to have as many employees as possible own their homes. We have already surveyed 40 acres of land, on which we are arranging for the construction of 60 to 70 houses at prices and mortgage payment schedules within the means of our citrus employees, and with appropriate recreational facilities and power and sewer service. These houses will be available exclusively for purchase or rental by our employees. We hope to use existing State and Federal housing programs; but we are prepared, if necessary, to do this through company arranged private financing.

SOCIAL SERVICE CENTERS

Now, one of the key, if not the key, components of the programs, Senators, is the one coming up, the social service centers. We have decided to establish four permanent social service centers and one mobile social service unit for our groves and harvesting workers. The first of these centers and the mobile unit will be in operation at the beginning of the orange harvesting season in late November.

The other three centers will be in operation within a year from that time. The centers will provide a one-stop service for the worker and his family. These centers will provide the physical facilities and professional personnel for:

Child care and preschool training and education;
Adult education;
Medical care;
Family and social counseling;
Recreation;
Special tutoring for children attending local schools; and
Information centers on local, State and Federal programs.

In addition to professionals, the centers and the mobile unit will be staffed by paid members from the migrant community itself. These staffs will be specially trained to work with migrant workers. The mobile unit will be operated in a manner similar to Federal "outreach" programs. The unit and its personnel will seek out the migrants and their families, where they work and live and provide basic social services and medical care which they require.

GENERAL PROGRAMS

There are a variety of other problems to which we have also directed our attention. For example, migrant workers spend substantial amounts of time in buses that break down too often. We have ordered 25 new buses, each with toilet facilities. Ten buses have already been delivered. These buses will efficiently transport workers to and from the groves and provide sanitary toilet facilities at the location of their work.

Finally—and most important in the long run—we have begun research into the tools used by the migrant workers. We will put forth our best efforts to the task of developing mechanical and other devices to ease the burden of this work and make the individual more productive.

This, in brief, is the program of our company to deal with the migrant workers in our employ. I do not underestimate the difficulty of bringing hope to these men and women, for themselves and for their children. And I do not want to overpromise. Generations of abuse and neglect cannot be rooted out in weeks or even months. But we have looked at this problem with the best people we could find, and we have spent at least 18 months doing it, and we believe the programs we are instituting will move a long way toward providing for the migrant and his family human dignity, motivation, and hope.

Let me be absolutely clear on one point. As we begin our work on the program, we will meet many difficulties and certain portions may not work in the field as we have planned them on paper. We will seek other solutions where those we have do not seem to be working. We intend to put whatever resources are within our command to solve this problem and to do it promptly, humanely and, of most importance, permanently.

While I recognize that our major and most direct responsibility is to those in our employ, I am also mindful of our obligations as citizens and human beings. We have already informed other citrus growers and employers of migrant labor that our entire experience will be available to them as they begin to deal with their problems in this area.

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, neither you nor I alone can solve the problems of all the migrant workers in this Nation. We employ only 1,000 migrants in 20 counties in a single State. There are more than 250,000 migrants working in 900 counties in 46 States. These men and their families have been too long neglected by the entire Nation in which they live and work. Only a massive, concerted and persistent effort by Federal, State, and local government can root out the subculture of poverty in which they barely survive.

Government housing programs specifically designed for the migrant must be enacted and funded. Special health and education programs must be created for the migrant and his children. Federal, State, and local social services, now denied the migrant because of arbitrary residence requirements and outright discrimination, must be opened to him. Outreach programs, by which Government officials will seek out the migrant where he lives and works, must also be established. Until our citizens and their elected representatives at every level of government, commit the resources and talent necessary to solve this problem, migrants and their families—one million human beings—will continue to live in poverty without hope.

This Nation and the States and communities in which the migrants live and work have the resources to solve this problem. The only question is whether they have the determination. We must, as a nation, show the migrant that there is hope for him in our country and that above all his children can aspire to break the cycle of poverty to which they have been condemned for so many generations.

Yet Government alone cannot solve this problem. Through years of experience and the work of dedicated Federal employees and legislators like yourself, the Government has tried to help the migrant worker. Unfortunately, the impact of most of its programs has been marginal at best.

In 1968, largely because Government, acting alone, met the same frustration in its attempt to deal with the problems of the hard-core unemployed in our urban ghettos, the President formed a National Alliance of Businessmen. In partnership with the Government, the NAB created the JOBS program to help train and employ the hard-care disadvantaged in the ghettos of our largest cities. I was privileged to serve as the first vice chairman of the NAB.

I believe the time has now come to form a national alliance of agri-businessmen to train and employ in dignity and with fair wages the migrant workers of our Nation. I urge this committee to consider such a program and recommend it to the Congress in its report. A national alliance of agri-businessmen, working in partnership with the Government, can do for thousands of rural migrant workers what the National Alliance of Businessmen has done for thousands of ghetto dwellers.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let us recognize that the migrant represents a phenomenon in our society. The migrant and his family have the motivation to travel hundreds of miles across our country seeking one of the hardest jobs in our economy. If that motivation is fired with self-respect and special training, we can reclaim hundreds of thousands of our citizens and create a major addition to our Nation's work force. It is this inherent motivation of the migrant that gave me the confidence last March that the program of the Coca-Cola Co. will work.

Thank you, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Austin, for a very useful statement.

To what extent were the migrants and farmworkers themselves consulted in developing the plan which you have described, and to what degree will they control or participate in the direction of these programs?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, can I ask Mr. Smith to respond to the question because he was right at the scene and on the spot.

Senator MONDALE. By all means.

Mr. SMITH. Senator, as part of the assessment of our total problem Scientific Resources put four people into the groves and they actually worked as migrants. In the course of that activity they obviously discussed with the employees themselves what their own problems were and what their objectives were. That was the initial movement that led to the specifics of the program Mr. Austin just read.

Each successive step involves doing that again and again in developing the complete details of each aspect of the program.

Senator MONDALE. Is the role of the farmworker and migrant institutionalized within boards or committees in some way, or is it merely an informal consultation that occurs in the development of this plan?

Mr. SMITH. If I understand your question, Senator, in our particular program it will definitely be formal. We intend to have management-employee committees at each level and on each subject of this program.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Austin, you say that around 1968 you became concerned about the farmworker, partly because of Chavez's leadership, and that you asked for a study of the conditions of the farmworkers in your own organization.

I gather you were somewhat shocked by what you found.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Would you say that the conditions as we have heard them described here by doctors, and as reflected in the NBC documentary called "Migrant an NBC White Paper" and as described by migrants and farmworkers before this committee, generally reflect outrageous and offensive circumstances under which these migrants work—conditions which must be corrected?

Mr. AUSTIN. Senator, it definitely shows this environment of frustration and despair.

Senator MONDALE. Was there any question but that the farm workers and migrants at least when you first looked at them were receiving inadequate wages, had inadequate job security, had inadequate housing, had inadequate health care, as well as other problems, including psychological, to which you made reference?

Is there any doubt that the situation was a deplorable one?

Mr. AUSTIN. No doubt whatsoever.

Senator MONDALE. Would you not agree with me that this deplorable condition is to be found tragically throughout this country where farmworkers and migrants are working?

Mr. AUSTIN. That is my understanding, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Would you agree with me that this is a major national scandal that has to be corrected?

Mr. AUSTIN. It has to be corrected.

Senator MONDALE. Now, in your testimony, you indicate a host of steps which your company is now taking to provide housing, to improve wages, I gather, to a level comparable to your other employees, to provide social service centers for preschool education, health care, adult education, and the rest.

Why is it, as grateful as we are that you are taking these steps, that it has been a decade since Coca-Cola purchased Minute Maid that these steps are just now beginning to be taken.

Mr. AUSTIN. I believe that for the first 8 years, as you say, the problem was handled in what would be called a traditional manner, in an industry wide manner that grove operators accepted. I mentioned the reorganizational structure of the company in 1967 when Mr. Smith took over. One of the first and most positive moves made was to restructure how the grove management reported to top management.

The information flowing from grove operations upwards was insufficient. A corporation, as you know well, is in a constant stage of evolution. The fact of the matter is today that the same oversight would not happen.

Senator MONDALE. If you had not become concerned in 1968, as you have testified, it could well be the case today that nothing yet would be occurring—no improvement would be underway, none of the plans and efforts that you have described would be underway. In effect, the reason progress is being made today is that you happened to have become concerned and then asked for a report. And this is only one example.

We had witnesses the other day that said one of the big problems is that these huge corporations, and you would have to say that Coca-Cola is fairly large, are so remote from the human conditions of their employees on the farms that many times they do not know about it. Or, if they do, they are so remote and distant from them that they are not motivated to do anything about them.

Do you think there is some validity to that criticism?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. Chairman, I can only answer for the one company, the Coca-Cola Co. I actually do not know any facts concerning the others. I would like to stress that as we are set up today there would be instant communications and that you will find no lack of motivation in this particular company.

Senator MONDALE. Of course what this committee has to be concerned about is not alone the conditions of the employees on the farms who are employed by your concern, but the national problem, which is an unutterable disgrace. Nationally, the living conditions of the farmworkers are miserable.

We have to try as best we can to find a national solution. This morning, for example, the New York Times ran an editorial which pointed out that time and time again the Congress, national television, radios, official reports, private reports, going back 50 years have reported on the heartbreaking and disastrous conditions of the lives of our migrant farmworkers. Yet for all practical purposes, no substantial improvement has occurred. I would like to include that editorial, entitled "Peonage in the Field," at this point in the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

[From the New York Times, July 24, 1970]

PEONAGE IN THE FIELDS

Once again the nations' attention has been drawn to the appalling conditions that exist among the nation's most exploited and miserable workers, migratory farm laborers. This time it is a group of physicians who visited these peons in Florida, Texas and Michigan and who have been recounting the horrors they saw to the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. As medical men, they have been focusing on the sicknesses that plague the workers as a result of their abysmal poverty, poor housing and lack of medical care.

Unfortunately, there is nothing new in this depressing testimony. Since the Industrial Commission reports of 1901, several generations of governmental and private investigators have told and retold this scandalous story of human misery. Yet little has changed over these seventy years, and—if past precedent is any guide—the national conscience will soon relax again.

But precedent need not be followed. The nationwide sympathy that helped win contracts for unionized grape pickers in California showed that gains can be made in today's more sensitive political atmosphere.

The primary need is for Government action to organize the seasonal farm labor market so that it is confined to a limited number of persons who can be assured decent earnings and acceptable conditions of life and work. That is a long-range goal. In the short run, Congress and the state legislatures have the obligation to give farm workers all the protections now taken for granted by other types of labor: generally applicable minimum wages, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, etc. For too long this nation has tolerated inexcusable discrimination against its most needy workers. That toleration must end, and soon.

Senator MONDALE. They conclude that the Congress and State legislatures have an obligation to give farmworkers all of the protections now taken for granted by other types of labor. I take it that that will include the right to organize into unions and to negotiate and to bargain for contracts.

Would you object to legislation which extended these rights to farm labor?

Mr. AUSTIN. I would not. May I broaden my answer?

Senator MONDALE. I like the one I heard.

Mr. AUSTIN. In the interest of living in the real world as it exists, this problem runs so deep and has so many psychological overtones to it that the real problem is to get these people out of the status of migrants.

Now if you organize them in any one of a dozen labor unions and improve their pay and improve their working conditions, and they remain roamers, the problem is going to be with us. There is an analogy here, Mr. Chairman.

The Government did a great many things for the poor in the country for a number of years and to my knowledge it has been substantiated by some rather professional opinions, only when the NAB program got into full swing was there really something concrete done.

American industry, I believe, had a very proud record. Once the problem was explained to them understandably rather than rhetorically, they picked it up, did not ask any questions, and instituted the program.

Now it has been done better one place and than another and so on but I will speak to the average which actually is and has accomplished something. If the labor union or appropriate legislation was the panacea and was the corrective thing, then obviously who could say no?

But I want to stress that a program such as the Coca-Cola Co. program is also essential to change the mental attitudes. These people do not have a philosophy of work discipline, they don't have a skill. It is at this level that very hard work must be done.

One other comment if I may. I am on the board of OIC, Rev. Leon Sullivan's very effective organization in Philadelphia. We have our board meetings over there in the middle of the ghetto, we visit the training centers. The secret of his success is to teach first and foremost No. 1, self-respect.

He takes people without self-respect, who could not have earned it, could not have known about it and retrained them and once they have that they are ready to go to a skill school and they progress through there and they become tax producers rather than tax eaters.

So it does work. But involved in that work are people who are eligible for unions, some who have been in unions, and yet the conditions continued to exist, union or nonunion, until this method of training was devised where you could take people who were otherwise despairing and make them proud of what they had become.

Senator MONDALE. I do not object to the observation that union organization has not solved many of the problems of the disadvantaged in this country.

I think it is obvious that they have not. But it seems to me that the farmworker in the migrant labor field is unique for his utter deprivation. In the industrial sector, where you do have unions, you have decent wages, job security, welfare and pension plans, collective bargaining protections, and individual worker protections. Of course, that is what Chavez' movement is all about.

You referred to your being impressed by his effort. I recall being with a man my age on a farm outside Delano. He took me to his home that he had just built under the self-help housing program. He was my age, 42 years old.

He had never had a house in his life. I asked him how come he had waited so long? He said, "Until we got a contract with the wine grape industry, I had never been able to know that I had a job from one year to the next.

"This is the first time in my life that I ever had a job that I knew I would have the next day and had legal right to it."

He said, "That changed my life, my family's life, this community's life and I am now building my own house for the first time. It is the greatest thing that ever happened to me."

That came about principally because of job security written into the contract. That is not a revolutionary concept, except in the migratory labor and farm fields. I think there is a national solution that is indicated. Essential to it must be the right to organize and to bargain collectively, and I gather from what you said you would not object to an extension of the National Labor Relations Act for that purpose.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is correct. Let me give you a philosophical answer.

Senator MONDALE. I still like the one you just gave.

Mr. AUSTIN. We have the situation of first-class citizens and second-class citizens and that is not right under the constitution that we live under. Now whatever is necessary to change that as an American citizen or a businessman whatever, this committee is apparently in the process of doing.

Senator MONDALE. I have some more questions but I will turn to Senator Saxbe.

Senator SAXBE. I think my questions will best be answered by Mr. Smith.

The migratory labor that you employ is not employed in your processing plants, it is in the groves, is that right?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Senator SAXBE. You have no other food interests except where you have migratory labor or except in citrus?

Mr. SMITH. Yes; we have coffee business in the western part of the United States.

Senator SAXBE. Coffee?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Senator SAXBE. You raise coffee?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; we roast it and market coffee.

Senator SAXBE. But you do not employ migratory labor?

Mr. SMITH. No.

Senator SAXBE. Now the maintenance of the groves is all done by permanent employees, is that right?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Senator SAXBE. So, the only migratory labor you employ is the picker?

Mr. SMITH. At the present time; yes, sir.

Senator SAXBE. Most of these pickers are employed by a daily shapeup or do you have some other arrangements?

Mr. SMITH. The foreman recruits the group every morning and there is a good deal of repeat, of course, among the same people every day.

Senator SAXBE. They are paid by the boss?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Senator SAXBE. If a man gets on the bus and it rains or a bus breaks down, he may have a dry run?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Senator SAXBE. This is one of the greatest problems of migratory labor. That many of these days he is not picked up or he misses a day because of sickness or because he does not want to work. Or he gets to the grove and he is rained out, or they are moving from one grove to the next, or the trucks are not available to take the fruit, and, therefore, his employment is rather chancy at the present time.

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Senator SAXBE. He cannot plan ahead, as Senator Mondale said, on any income. He has to take it as it comes. Is there any innovation being made in mechanical harvesting? Is that practice—using shakers—in citrus at all, shakers?

Mr. SMITH. There is a good deal of work being done, Senator. We think it is a few years off before it will be commercially practicable.

Senator SAXBE. They are doing it for cherries I know and for commerical apples. The way we solved some of the problems in Ohio is by doing away with migratory labor and I think the only way that you are ever going to solve the problems is to do away with migratory labor because if a man is available for work, as you must have him, and he does not get work, he is in a serious financial bind with his family.

Now I recognize that the citrus harvest lasts 7 or 8 months.

Is that not correct?

Mr. SMITH. The orange harvest, itself, lasts about that long. We are going to be in a fortunate position from this point of view, already are to some degree, in that as the oranges phase out, grapefruit phases in, lemons phase in. Lemons will each year become a larger proportion of our total crop.

That is one of the reasons why we can immediately start a program of giving annual employment and regular employment status to a sizable number of heretofore migrant laborers.

We share your view that the real answer is to find ways of running our business without the need for migrant labor.

Senator SAXBE. Well, the citrus crop as you pointed out is a little better than many of the crops. For instance, the tomato harvest is 3 weeks and depends entirely on the weather.

You may have 2,500 pickers and you are rained out. They live in these camps in squalor and everybody comes to look at them and who is to pay them? I have advocated and it is being followed, that we depend on mechanical pickers, which, again, is subject to the weather.

If the field is muddy the mechanical picker can't work in Ohio. It can work in California because of the dryness of the soil and the nature of the weather, on irrigated land.

I think Mr. Austin's testimony is now an indication of certainly an intent to cure one of these. But I think the most profound statement you have made is that the way to cure migrant labor is to do away with it.

If then a family wants to embark upon a trip across the country for a few days work I do not see how we are going to stop them, but I think they should be discouraged because they wind up in these terrible camps and make themselves available for exploitation by unscrupulous growers.

Of these growers, many of them are marginal, as you know and have small return. They find themselves in a position where this is the only way they can get help. But I think we must draw from your testimony as to the intent of the company policy. I certainly hope that it is carried through—that you can make permanent employees out of the migratory people.

Mr. SMITH. That is the intent. Thank you. Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Schweiker, do you have any questions?

Senator SCHWEIKER. Thank you very much. Mr Austin, I gather from what you said in your company background perspective that until you got into the Minute Maid situation you really had not had occasion, corporately, to come up against the migratory problem in any substantial way.

Is that right?

Mr. AUSTIN. That is right.

Senator SCHWEIKER. The nature of your business being what it is I suspect you are normally quite removed from this kind of situation.

Mr. AUSTIN. That is right.

Senator SCHWEIKER. You said that you conducted a study in depth of the workers conditions, motivations, and personal feelings. Did this study show, Mr. Austin, anything that might be helpful to this committee in terms of why are these migrants the forgotten Americans? What peculiar conditions of their environment or employment or general situation make them so disadvantaged compared to the rest of our society?

In other words, why are they in a state, as you so well put it, of hopelessness? Did you have any psychological attitudes or conclusions from your study that pinpointed the reasons for these things?

Mr. AUSTIN. I can answer the question in more general terms and I think Mr. Smith who has worked with the task force himself—do you want me to do it personally or Mr. Smith?

Mr. Smith?

Senator SCHWEIKER. Whoever you prefer?

Mr. AUSTIN. I think Mr. Smith has worked with them more than I have.

Mr. SMITH. I doubt that we have learned very much in a historical sense, Senator. In that sense I suspect we have learned most from the reports of this committee. But in the on-going current situation which is about as far as we are at the moment, that is talking with the people who were at the time of this survey on your payroll and trying to open up their eyes to the future, you really get a strong conviction that they just don't feel they have any opportunity to ever change the situation in which they are and there is a sort of futility about it that does not really present a fellow with motive.

There is not any reason to that if he performs in a superior way he can get out of that kind of situation.

Senator SCHWEIKER. What keeps them going against such adverse environmental conditions from one part of the country to the other? That, in itself, must be some pecular unique factor that keeps them on that kind of path.

Mr. SMITH. I don't think we have learned anything that adds to that, Senator, except a great deal from your own reports.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I was impressed with some of the instructors. These are some of the more concrete specific suggestions, particularly from an industry basis, that have come out of these hearings.

I was very impressed with your analogy of the national Alliance of Businessmen and the observations or suggestions that a national alliance of agribusinessmen be formed.

In view of this suggestion, in view of Coca-Cola potential for leadership, capacity for leadership, would you folks be willing to assume some kind of voluntary effort to bring about such an association?

Because I feel it takes some people with your foresight and vision to get that thing on the road. I just wondered if you folks would be willing, companywise to lead an effort, to at least start it and organize it.

Particularly with your experiences as vice chairman, I think it would be an ideal situation.

Mr. SMITH. I have this conviction that if the company is reasonably successful, and we believe it will be, we will have a couple of stumbles but, by and large, we will put this program into effect after we have done that and illustrated that it can be done, I think the job of forming a group dedicated to the same purpose will be relatively simple.

But I also believe, Senator, that it has to come, the formation of such a group has to be the result of the executive branch of the Government actually setting it up, as NAB was.

It needs a great deal of support as a voluntary association of industries widely would not be optimistic.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I think maybe this committee could help you with some support. I am sure the chairman would be very receptive to encouraging a number of the other industries who are in the same positions as Coca-Cola to lend it their support.

I think maybe it would not have to—have to come from the executive branch. The legislation branch might play a little bit of a role here.

I think it is a constructive suggestion.

Mr. SMITH. It is my recommendation to you that the start be with this committee.

Senator SCHWEIKER. One other idea that intrigues me, Reverend Sullivan is one of my close friends and one of my constituents, and I have been deeply impressed with his work even when the Federal Government initially turned it down, which it did at first, and I think Reverend Sullivan has put a key on something which is very important to migratory work and that is motivation.

I think you defined it, too, when you talked about the physical problem of outreach. So I would like to throw out suggestions to your voluntary association that it might be well to consider asking Reverend Sullivan to set up an educational and motivational program for the agribusinessmen in the industry.

Mr. SMITH. I have already done so and he has accepted.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I think that is very fine because I think if we are combining two elements that up to now have been loose, one, the fiscal problem of following the migratory workers throughout the country which outreach is the specific answer to and, two, the deep motivational factor, there is no person more qualified in this country in my opinion to run down the motivational factor than Reverend Sullivan.

Mr. SMITH. I agree. I have watched him and worked on his board. He is terrific.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I really feel if any combination of factors can cure this situation and turn the tables, I think that might well be it. I believe you said you were responsible for about 3 percent of the total business in this area, is that right?

Mr. SMITH. That is our groves produced about 3 percent of the citrus in Florida.

Senator SCHWEIKER. You said you had 1,000 employees of the 250,000 employees. That clarifies that point. When do you expect the mobile and the social service centers to be in operation?

What is your timing on these programs? How far along are they?

Mr. SMITH. The first social service center will be in operation by the beginning of the next harvest season, which is essentially November. The first mobile unit will be in operation by them. The other three service centers will be in operation within 12 months after that time.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I would like to make another suggestion, if I may, along this same line and maybe you folks are already aware of it. But the Appalachian Regional Commission has been doing experimentation in this same kind of provision whereby they take a mobile classroom and travel it around Appalachia and bring education to the people who need it.

I would suggest if you have not already that you could consider the Appalachian Regional Laboratory as a basis for some of your work here because they have come up with some very specific recommendations that they hope to implement in Appalachia. While the problems are not exactly the same, I think the migratory mobile parties is quite similar and might be quite advantageous.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Senator SCHWEIKER. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Senator Schweiker. What is the annual dollar volume of the sales of Minute Maid juice?

Mr. SMITH. Of course the Minute Maid Co. is now merged in with the total division but the citrus portion of the foods division in 1969 was roughly $157 million in annual sales volume.

Senator MONDALE. $157 million. You say that you have about 300 year-round employees, and that during the harvesting season and during other peak employment periods you hire additional migrants?

Mr. SMITH. Senator, I think I am misleading you. The dollar figure I gave you is not juice oranges. You understand we only grow a little less than one-third of our total usage.

The sales volume figure I gave you is Minute Maid-Snow Crop products that is processed out of what we grow as well as a much larger quantity that we buy.

Senator MONDALE. So that $157 million you talk about involves citrus products, only a portion of which are grown and harvested by your company?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Senator MONDALE. What proportions of them are grown and harvested by your company?

Mr. SMITH. Roughly a third. This varies yearly but it is roughly a third.

Senator MONDALE. So that two-thirds of the products which you use, oranges and other citrus fruits, are picked by migrants and farmworkers at farms not owned or leased by your company?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir, people not in our employ.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any program for assuring decent working conditions for those people?

Mr. SMITH. Well, one of the first things we did in our program and as a preplanned part was as soon as it had been announced to our own employees, I then spent 2 days calling on the other leaders of the citrus industry in Florida to apprise them of what our plan is, to ask them to serve with us as a sort of unofficial overseer group to help us evaluate as we go along, with the distinct intention that as we demonstrate practicability of each step of our program they will see fit to adopt it.

Senator MONDALE. Are you encouraged to believe that they will respond to any extent in a way such as that described?

Mr. Smith. Yes, I am. In a personal visit I made at the suggestion of one of the citrus leaders we then made copies of that talk I made to a wider number and we received a number of letters in response to that mailing, each one of which has been highly favorable, if I am responsive to your question.

Senator Mondale. Are you saying that you think we will shortly see from these other growers a response like that which you have described here for your own company?

Mr. Smith. It has been my impression from the leaders I have talked to that they share our concern over the problems and they are as eager to find ways to solve them and as we demonstrate the practicability of our various programs I believe certainly they will want to adopt them but it will be a long process.

Senator Mondale. I gather you looked at the documentary entitled "Migrant—An NBC White Paper"?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Senator Mondale. In your opinion does that documentary accurately reflect the conditions of the migrant farmwarkers in Florida?

Mr. Smith. Senator, I don't think I am qualified to comment on that. Our own findings clearly demonstrate that in our groves the conditions are very bad and we intend to do something about them.

Senator Mondale. Let me say I commend you for that candid admission, because I think that has to be the starting point. I cannot be as optimistic as you are that we will naturally see a similar response to this problem from other agri-businesses. This is, as you know, at least the third documentary in the last 10 years that depicted conditions no better now than they were 20 years ago. Yet for all practical purposes nothing has happened.

This emotional outrage and shock which the American people have suffered on a seasonal basis has not proved to be much of an engine for reform. That is why I feel very strongly that there must be legislation which empowers the workers themselves to seek decent wages, job security and incomes so that they can buy their own housing and take care of themselves just as other workers have done for 45 years.

I do not wish to argue here but I really believe that if there are any workers in the country that do not need to be motivated it is the farmworker and the migrant. After all, when a father puts his wife and children in a car and drives all over this country to do the hardest work which any worker can do for the meager return that they receive, I don't think you can argue any more that there is a problem of motivation or that he lacks a desire to work or earn a living.

The problem is that he does not have an opportunity. [Applause.]

Senator Mondale. I will advise the audience that these hearings are supposed to be lifeless events. [Laughter.]

If these efforts you propose to make are fully implemented, and quickly implemented, I can see they will make a difference in the lives of workers.

I would hope that in addition to such proposals as the National Alliance for Agri-Business, Coca Cola really provides this Nation an example by coming in here and helping us to get the legislation that we all know is essential if these tragic conditions are going to be ended.

I think there is a reason why this tragic human condition has continued to exist decade after decade, despite the recurrent disclosure of these tragedies.

The reason I think is that there is a lot of money to be made off poverty. You have surplus labor and you pay minimum wages with no job security or fringe benefits. There is money to be saved.

Also there is the factor of competition. Regardless of what the average grower may wish to do, he has got to compete with others who are getting this same worker for a substandard wage.

It seems to me that when you have a problem like this, the way to solve it is to be sure that these costs are generally distributed among all competitors and that fundamentally we reach to the very basis of the migrants problems, which has been that he has been utterly powerless, economically and politically to change his circumstances.

Unless we join together to alter that powerlessness there will be instances such as those which you are undertaking in which a few farm workers and migrants may have a somewhat better life but the overall conditions of the migrant and farmworker will continue to be one of this Nation's greatest scandals.

I say that—I suppose I am testifying myself at this time—because I think the record is absolutely clear on that point.

One final question about the documentary, itself. There have been statements made that Coca Cola sought to influence that documentary and what was said in it.

Would you comment on that statement?

Mr. Austin. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The press reports alleged pressure was brought to bear and I would like to state categorically that that is not so. I would like to read into the record two letters, one from Mr. Smith to Mr. Goodman, president of the National Broadcasting Co., and his reply.

Senator Mondale. We will include those in the record but you may read such portions as you wish.

Mr. Austin. Thank you very much.

It won't take 2 minutes if I can just read through them.

(The information referred to and subsequently supplied follows:)

The Coca-Cola Company

NEW YORK N Y

ADDRESS REPLY TO
P O DRAWER 1734
ATLANTA, GA 30301

TELEPHONE 875-3411

July 17, 1970

Mr. Julian Goodman
President
National Broadcasting Company
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

This letter will serve to confirm the circumstances of our meeting yesterday with you, Mr. Reuven Frank and your other associates. We sincerely regret that some have interpreted this discussion as an attempt to place "enormous pressure" on your organization. At the same time, we appreciate Mr. Frank's prompt and candid clarification of the matter when he stated for The New York Times: "There was no pressure. They (Coca-Cola representatives) brought us facts we did not have before. We heard them out. After they left, we felt maybe we had singled them out for blame in a situation where so many companies are involved. We removed the onus from them."

As you know, we sought the interview with you because we felt that the television program, which several of our people had previewed at several independent stations, did not include important facts necessary to a truthful portrayal of our Company's attitude toward both NBC's efforts to report the Migrant problem and our Company's program which is already underway. We are convinced that the Minute Maid program can cause a significant reversal of the tragic cycle of poverty under which migrant farm laborers have lived for so long. What is of particular significance is that if we succeed, our program can be effective anywhere in the country where similar conditions exist. This is the reason we were so convinced that this information should have been part of the Migrant documentary.

The Coca-Cola Company

After first learning of your project several months ago, we offered your people full and complete access to all of our facilities and personnel. We also shared the details of the above-mentioned program, the result of an intensive study we had undertaken over a period of more than a year in an effort to find solutions to the difficult problems facing migrant workers. We felt these circumstances should be brought to your personal attention prior to the broadcast.

For the record, I will repeat what has been said publicly about our position. Our sole interest is a fair and complete presentation of all the facts.

Also, for the record, I repeat our invitation to NBC to return to our groves a year from now in order to evaluate the results of our program.

Sincerely,

J. Lucian Smith
President
The Coca-Cola Company
Foods Division

JLS/ms

Addressed to Mr. J. Lucian Smith, President, The Coca-Cola Company
Foods Division, 515 Madison Avenue, N. Y., N.Y.

Dictated over the telephone to Sally Jones by John Sullivan. 7/22/70

Dear Mr. Smith:

I want to thank you for your note of July 17 and for the discussion we had the other day in which you put before us information relating to the subject presented in the NBC news special program "Migrant".

I appreciate the fact that, having outlined this information, you did not ask for or suggest any change in the program, recognizing that this was a matter of our journalistic judgment and should be left to NBC news, whether or not it collided with Coca-Cola interest. For the same reason, we did not in our discussion with you and your associate, undertake to make any change, nor did we reach any conclusion on that subject at that time.

After you had left, Reuven Frank and Don Meaney, who have the responsibility respectively for the overall NBC news operation and for NBC news specials, concluded that in the light of the information you had outlined, two rather minor changes should be made in the script. One of these was intended to remove what might otherwise be construed - perhaps incorrectly - as placing a special onus on Coca-Cola; and the other referred to your company's efforts to correct some of the deficiencies in its operations relating to farm labor. In outlining these changes, which involved a sentence or so in each case, Mr. Frank pointed out to me that they would not in any way alter the thrust, meaning or impact of the program or its treatment of the condition of migrant workers.

I appreciate your invitation to NBC news to return to your company's groves a year from now, to evaluate the results of these programs. I know you will understand that we do not make commitments in advance for news or a feature coverage, but judge such matters in terms of their news worthiness and importance in relation to all the other current issues and events on which NBC news might report.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Julian Goodman

Mr. Austin. Then I would like to emphasize one point, again, Mr. Chairman, that there has been talk that this program was sort of synonymous with the news broadcast.

I want to read to you an excerpt from the minutes of the finance committee meeting of the Coca-Cola Co. dated December 22, 1969.

> Mr. Austin discussed grove activity in Florida and stated that we have made a study of the costs in connection with modernizing our facilities for housing, feeding and educating transient labor and estimated continuing and annual cost for this project would be $500,000, initial capital investment $750,000.

That was the starting budget which permitted us to get our preliminary work going.

Senator Mondale. Is this the dollar amount involved in the plans you have been talking about?

Mr. Austin. No, this is my opening budget so that we could go and hire SRI. I had to work from a budget, from a fund. The committee made them available to me on December 22, 1969. SRI was hired 6 weeks later.

That concludes my statement.

Senator Mondale. I watched the documentary. There was one event there in which it appeared to me that the cameraman was asked to leave the Coca-Cola premises.

I got the impression that you were not quite as receptive as your letter implied there.

Mr. Austin. Mr. Smith received a phone call from that particular man and he can give it to you first hand.

Senator Mondale. Would you respond?

Mr. Smith. Senator, April 27th was the day of that filming and the man who was seen on the screen, without notification to anybody in management, simply saw the filming going on and apparently went to find out what was happening. The first we knew of NBC's presence in the grove was that date. I immediately flew to Florida, sought an interview with Mr. Carr and Mr. Huntley. We had the interview the following day.

We offered complete access to our facilities and our personnel on an unescorted basis at any time they wanted and they accepted that.

Senator Mondale. Did any such incident occur again after that occurrence?

Mr. Smith. I—any other filming?

Senator MONDALE. Any other efforts to remove cameramen?

Mr. SMITH. No, not at all. In fact they did more filming the following day.

Senator MONDALE. What is your position about access to the premises by poverty workers, legal services workers, organizers, and the rest? Do you have organizations there present on the premises talking to the workers who are living on your premises?

Mr. AUSTIN. To be completely frank, Senator, if we have a policy I am not aware of it. I do know that we are working now already and have been over a period of some months with various of those organizations in Florida. We hope to get their input in developing the program as we go forward.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Austin, have you personally looked at this housing and these conditions?

Mr. AUSTIN. No; I have not, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Smith has?

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have any other questions, Senator Schweiker?

Senator SCHWEIKER. No.

Senator MONDALE. I don't wish to imply that I am unimpressed by the proposals that you are making. I think the test will be whether they are carried out—not whether we talk about housing, but whether there is housing; not whether we talk about improved wages, but whether there are; not whether we talk about social service centers, but whether such centers are built and services provided.

If all of this comes about, it cannot be argued that the condition of the workers who work for you will be substantially improved. But that would be one company with its own program helping a few employees out of over a million. Also, I think there is merit in the proposal for a National Alliance of Agri-Businessmen. But that alliance would reach only a few thousand employees. I would hope that you would help us, and the rest who feel there should be a national solution to this, to shape the legislation and get the kind of national broad response and solution that we need.

Mr. AUSTIN. I will be delighted to, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

We will print your entire statement at this point in the Record.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Austin follows:)

STATEMENT OF J. PAUL AUSTIN
PRESIDENT, THE COCA-COLA COMPANY
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR OF
THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I appreciate the opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I am accompanied by Mr. J. Lucian Smith, the President of The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division.

Although The Coca-Cola Company grows only some three percent of the Florida citrus crop, we have become directly involved in the problems of the migrant worker. Throughout the United States, there are some three million farm workers; more than 250,000 of them are characterized, in the terms of this Committee's 1969 Report, as migratory workers. The Coca-Cola Company employs in its citrus groves in Florida approximately 300 full-time groves employees and a daily average of about 1,000 seasonal workers -- migrants -- over the eight month orange harvesting period.

As a citizen, I am concerned about the plight of every migratory worker in the nation; as a corporate executive I am directly responsible for the migratory workers employed by my Company. For the past year and a half, we have been examining the problem of the migrant in our citrus groves in an attempt to develop a program through which he can live and work in human dignity and economic security. The question we have asked is not whether to help the migrant worker; but how to help him -- in a lasting way for himself and his family.

As this Committee well knows, the problem of the migratory worker in America is an enormously complicated one. It is, first and foremost, a human problem of severe psychological isolation. It is an economic problem involving health, education, citizenship and family structure. The migrant worker has problems of malnutrition, physical handicap and mental health, and most significantly, he suffers from a profound sense of futility.

To the migrant, the problem seems overwhelming. To the migrant's employer and the migrant's government, the problem is equally complex and frustrating. Money can build houses and buy food, but money alone cannot provide the environment in which a man can live and grow with human dignity, economically secure in a life motivated by hope for himself and his children.

We do not pretend to have all the answers to this complex question, but we are determined to do something about it. Portions of the program we have instituted may not work as we planned, but we are dedicated to a persistent and successful effort to place the employees in our groves on a parity with all other Company employees.

Our interest in citrus operations began with the acquisition of the Minute Maid Company in 1960. In the summer of 1967 these operations became part of a new Company Division, The Coca-Cola Foods Division, of which Mr. J. Lucian Smith was appointed President.

In late 1968 I began to read more and more about the crusade of Cesar Chavez in California on behalf of migrant labor. I called Mr. Smith in Houston and asked him to make certain that workers in our groves were not living in the sub-standard conditions that Mr. Chavez described for the workers in California. Mr. Smith personally visited the groves in December, 1968. He was so upset by what he saw that he came immediately to Atlanta to talk to me. He told me that many of the migrants in our groves were living in conditions that "could not in conscience be tolerated by The Coca-Cola Company." At that meeting he and I agreed that we must establish a program to correct these conditions and commit whatever funds and talent were necessary to do the job.

At that meeting I told Mr. Smith that my experience as Vice Chairman of the National Alliance for Businessmen had convinced me that the so-called "unemployables" could be placed on corporate payrolls and with appropriate job training and special care were capable of becoming permanent members of the nation's labor force.

Our first instinct was to move promptly and change the physical situation in which the migrant worker found himself trapped. We soon realized, however, that merely to provide housing and transportation, without facing up to the basic human problems involved, would do little more than temporarily ease the hardship of the migratory worker. A culture of despair and poverty, vested by generations of neglect, had to be rooted out and replaced. To do so involved the entire spectrum of social services and skills: child care, nutrition, adult education, psychological assistance and medical treatment.

We established a task force of both Company personnel and outside consultants, including Scientific Resources, Incorporated (SRI), of Union, New Jersey. The task force used a variety of study techniques:

-- During February, 1970, SRI sent three men and one woman into our citrus groves, one of whom worked as a migrant so that he could experience the life of the migrant in his job and his environment.

-- They talked to the migrant workers and their families and interviewed them in depth, to discover their psychological attitudes and their view of their major problems and needs.

-- They examined the housing of our migrant workers, and their problems in obtaining health care, education and other basic social services from the private sector as well as from government agencies.

-- They discussed the plight of the migratory workers with local, state and federal officials

in Florida and representatives of local
groups, religious and social, that had been
active in the field for many years.

The task force made its recommendations to me in March of this year. I approved the recommendations and their immediate implementation. Mr. William Kelly, an experienced personnel executive of our Company, who was a member of the task force, was appointed a Vice President of the Foods Division with the sole duty of getting this job done.

We all realized that if the program were to be a success, it was essential that the migrant workers themselves participate in the development of the solution to their own problems. In recent years, as a result of our nation's experience with a variety of anti-poverty programs, we have come to recognize the importance of self-help and participation by the disadvantaged themselves in programs to raise their standard of living. We believe this is also true with respect to the migrant worker. He is the individual most immediately affected by our program and if it is to have its maximum impact, he must recognize that he has within himself the capability -- the power -- of improving his condition.

Many of the most important segments of our program were suggested by the migrant workers. For example, they repeatedly expressed the need to identify with the Company, the desire to own or rent their own homes at fair prices, the need for job security and life and health insurance, for training programs and grievance procedures, for better communication with their superiors, and a real measure of involvement in the communities in and near which they live.

From the Company's standpoint, we wish to identify those among our migrant workers with the basic talent and leadership ability to rise not only in our citrus operations but throughout the whole structure of our organization. Every migrant with the talent and ability to do so will have the same opportunities to rise in The Coca-Cola Company as any other employee. One of the key responsibilities of the vice president in charge of this program will be to identify and help motivate the migrant workers with this potential. In short, our plan is to place every groves and harvesting worker in the same status as every other employee of The Coca-Cola Company.

The Seasonal Harvesting Employees

Last year, during the eight month orange harvesting period, The Coca-Cola Company employed an average of 1,000 seasonal harvesting workers per day. Like most of the Florida citrus industry, they had no health, retirement or life insurance plans, and no job security. There are 86 housing units for their families and dormitories to accommodate about 400 male workers. In this group, we found a deep sense of hopelessness and futility.

These are the migrants who work only during the harvesting season, and then, often only a few days a week. We believe that our first responsibility is to provide as much full-time employment as we can for these workers. Beginning with a selected group, we intend to provide full-time employment with all the benefits that The Coca-Cola Company provides to its full-time employees. This will include the same retirement and life insurance plans, the same two to four weeks vacations and eight holidays, and the opportunity to enter the same training programs. As full-time employees, they will also be entitled to participate in the same tuition refund plans available to all Coca-Cola employees.

Currently the seasonal harvesting employee is paid by the piece. Beginning with this first group of harvesting employees, we will provide a basic hourly wage, on top of which piece-work bonuses will be paid, somewhat similar to the salary and commission arrangement for salesmen of many major corporations. The combined salary and bonus will be significantly higher than the money they are presently making. In this way, we hope to combine a sense of security, both in pay and in job, along with the incentive necessary to maintain and increase productivity. If this program works and productivity increases -- as we believe it will -- we propose to extend it to cover 200 employees by the end of its first year of operation; 500 in two to three years and at least two-thirds of our harvesting employees in five to seven years.

We plan to organize our harvesting of oranges and lemons, and the work that must be done in the groves to maintain and care for the trees during the non-harvesting period, in a way that will provide full-time employment for the largest possible number of migrants. We must replace generations of despair, with hope and ambition and this will require a major and concerted array of social services. Sufficient time and patient understanding are essential.

Although our objective is to convert as many seasonal employees to full-time status as possible, the process will of necessity be gradual. During transition and thereafter we will need a number of migrant seasonal employees to handle the peak harvesting load. These seasonal harvesting employees will be placed in the same status as other seasonal employees of the Company, such as many of the men who work in our processing plants. Their pay will be increased, and they will be covered by special life insurance and health care plans. Their dormitories will be modern and sanitary with adequate recreational facilities. They will be offered three meals a day at cost and will be provided, free of charge, with transportation to and from neighboring communities. We hope to instill in these migrants the desire to become full-time employees of the Company.

Full-Time Groves Employees

Our task force revealed that the pay and benefits of full-time groves employees were in line with local citrus industry standards, rather than with the standards of the Foods Division. Thus, these employees had no retirement plan, only one week of vacation and five holidays per year. They received health benefits only after one year of employment and life insurance benefits of $1,000.

Effective September 1, our plan will place these employees in the same status as all other full-time Coca-Cola employees. They will be included in the Company retirement plan. They will receive two to four weeks vacation each year depending on their length of service. Their health insurance benefits will become effective thirty days after employment and life insurance benefits will be raised to $5,000. Their wages will be initially increased by 23 percent.

Housing

At present we provide housing rent free to approximately sixty percent of our groves employees. The remaining forty percent rent or own their homes. It will always be necessary for some of our employees to live in the groves. For them, we will provide modern and sanitary housing and dormitories and the maintenance services necessary to keep that housing clean, decent and liveable.

Early in our strategic planning, however, our long range objective was to have as many employees as possible own their homes. We have already surveyed forty acres of land, on which we are arranging for the construction of 60 to 70 houses at prices and mortgage payment schedules within the means of our citrus employees, and with appropriate recreational facilities and power and sewer service. These houses will be available exclusively for purchase or rental by our employees. We hope to use existing state and federal housing programs; but we are prepared, if necessary, to do this through Company-arranged private financing.

Social Service Centers

We have decided to establish four permanent social service centers and one mobile social service unit for our groves and harvesting workers. The first of these centers and the mobile unit will be in operation at the beginning of the orange harvesting season in late November. They other three centers will be in operation within a year from that time. The centers will provide a one-stop service for the worker and his family. These centers will provide the physical facilities and professional personnel for:

- -- child care and pre-school training and education
- -- adult education
- -- medical care
- -- family and social counseling
- -- recreation
- -- special tutoring for children attending local schools
- -- information centers on local, state and federal programs.

In addition to professionals, the centers and the mobile unit will be staffed by paid members from the migrant community itself. These staffs will be specially trained to work with migrant workers. The mobile unit will be operated in a manner similar to federal "outreach" programs. The unit and its personnel will seek out the migrants and their families, where they work and live and provide basic social services and medical care to them.

General Programs

There are a variety of other problems to which we have also directed our attention. For example, migrant workers spend substantial amounts of time in buses that break down too often. We have ordered twenty-five new buses, each with toilet facilities. Ten buses have already been delivered. These buses will efficiently transport workers to and from the groves and provide sanitary toilet facilities at the location of their work.

Finally -- and most important in the long run -- we have begun research into the tools used by the migrant workers. We will put forth our best efforts to the task of developing mechanical and other devices to ease the burden of this work and make the individual more productive.

This, in brief, is the program of our Company to deal with the migrant workers in our employ. I do not underestimate the difficulty of bringing hope to these men and women, for themselves and for their children. And I do not want to overpromise. Generations of abuse and neglect cannot be rooted out in weeks or even months. But we have looked at this problem with the best people we could find, and we believe the programs we are instituting will move a long way toward providing for the migrant and his family human dignity, motivation and hope.

Let me be absolutely clear on one point. As we begin our work on the program, we will meet many difficulties and certain portions may not work in the field as we have planned them on paper. We will seek other solutions where those we have do not seem to be working. We intend to put whatever resources are within our command to solve this problem and to do it promptly, humanely and permanently.

While I recognize that our major and most direct responsibility is to those in our employ, I am also mindful of our obligations as citizens and human beings. We have already informed other citrus growers and employers of migrant labor that our entire experience will be available to them as they begin to deal with their problems in this area.

CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, neither you nor I alone can solve the problems of all the migrant workers in this nation. We employ only 1,000 migrants in 20 counties in a single state. There are more than 250,000 migrants working in 900 counties in 46 states.

These men and their families have been too long neglected by the entire nation in which they live and work. Only a massive, concerted and persistent effort by federal, state and local government can root out the sub-culture of poverty in which they barely survive.

Government housing programs specifically designed for the migrant must be enacted and funded. Special health and education programs must be created for the migrant and his children. Federal, state and local social services, now denied the migrant because of arbitrary residence requirements and out-right discrimination, must be opened to him. Outreach programs, by which government officials will seek out the migrant where he lives and works, must also be established. Until our citizens and their elected representatives, at every level of government, commit the resources and talent necessary to solve this problem, migrants and their families -- one million human beings -- will continue to live in poverty without hope. This nation and the states and communities in which the migrants live and work have the resources to solve this problem. The only question is whether they have the determination. We must, as a nation, show the migrant that there is hope for him in our country and that above all his children can aspire to break the cycle of poverty to which they have been condemned for so many generations.

Yet government alone cannot solve this problem. Through years of experience and the work of dedicated federal employees and legislators like yourself, the government has tried to help the migrant worker. Unfortunately, the impact of most of its programs has been marginal at best.

In 1968, largely because government, acting alone, met the same frustration in its attempt to deal with the problems of the hard core unemployed in our urban ghettos, the President formed a National Alliance of Businessmen. In partnership with the government, the NAB created the JOBS program to help train and employ the hard core disadvantaged in the ghettos of our largest cities. I was privileged to serve as the first Vice Chairman of the NAB.

I believe the time has now come to form a National Alliance of Agri-Businessmen to train and employ in dignity and with fair wages the migrant workers of our nation. I urge this Committee to consider such a program and recommend it to the Congress in its report. A National Alliance of Agri-Businessmen, working in partnership with the government, can do for thousands of rural migrant workers what the National Alliance of Businessmen has done for thousands of ghetto dwellers.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let us recognize that the migrant represents a phenomenon in our society. The migrant and his family have the motivation to travel hundreds of miles across our country seeking one of the hardest jobs in our economy. If that motivation is fired with self respect and special training, we can reclaim hundreds of thousands of our citizens and create a major addition to our nation's work force. It is this inherent motivation of the migrant that gave me the confidence last March that the program of The Coca-Cola Company will work.

Biography of Mr. J. Paul Austin

J. Paul Austin is Chairman of the Board and President of The Coca-Cola Company.

Mr. Austin joined the Company in 1949 as a member of its Legal Department. The following year, he joined The Coca-Cola Export Corporation, where he held various posts, including four years of overseas service as direction of operations in the African Area.

He was elected President of The Coca-Cola Export Corporation in 1959. In 1962, he was elected President and Chief Executive Officer of The Coca-Cola Company. Earlier this year, he was elected to the additional post of Chairman of the Board.

Mr. Austin earned a liberal arts degree from Harvard University and a law degree from the Harvard Law School.

He is a director of various corporations and industry organizations and is active in a wide range of civic and community betterment programs on the local, regional and national levels.

Mr. Austin was the first Vice Chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen, an organization designed to provide employment opportunities for the "hard-core unemployable."

Mr. Austin participated in the White House Conference on Equal Employment and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Opportunities Industrialization Committee, a Philadelphia-based organization created to train and assist in seeking employment for residents of ghetto areas. He currently is serving as Southeastern Regional Chairman of a national funds drive to benefit the National 4-H Club Educational Buildings Program.

Biography of Mr. J. Lucian Smith

J. Lucian Smith is President of The Coca-Cola Company Foods Division, an operating division of The Coca-Cola Company, which is headquartered in Houston, Texas. The Foods Division was organized in 1967 to include operations of both the Minute Maid Corporation and the Duncan Foods Company, previously acquired by The Coca-Cola Company through mergers. Mr. Smith was named President of the Foods Division upon its formation.

Mr. Smith joined the Coca-Cola business in 1940. He was named Sales Manager of the Western Coca-Cola Bottling Company, Chicago, in 1947, serving in that capacity until 1949 when he was named to head the Company's New England operations. He was named Field Sales Manager, Bottler Sales Development Department, in 1958.

Mr. Smith was elected Vice President of The Coca-Cola Company in 1961. In 1965, he was named Assistant Marketing Director for Carbonated Beverages, a post he held until 1967 when he was named President of the newly formed Coca-Cola Company Foods Division.

Mr. Smith is a member of various industry organizations. Also, he is a member of the Board of Trustees of the United Fund of Houston & Harris County, Texas. He is a member of the Board of Development, YMCA, and the Board of Directors, Junior Achievement of Southeast Texas, Inc.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Mr. George Wedgworth, president of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida. He is represented by the distinguished Senator from Florida, Spessard Holland and Mr. George F. Sorn, manager of the Labor Division, Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association.

Senator Holland, we are very pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, I am happy to be here. I am not present as you have indicated to represent the next witness, but to introduce him. I am very proud to introduce him.

Since the committee would be interested in his backbround, I want to give part of it. His father, a native of Mississippi took his bachelor's degree at Mississippi A. & M., his master's degree at Michigan State, doctor's degree at Cornell, and then came to Florida to serve as a highly respected member of the research staff of the experiment station at Belle Glade, Fla., where I first knew him.

His mother, who I believe was a native of Michigan, but at any rate, she finished only 3 years of her work there when she and Dr. Wedgworth were married and she, of course, came with him to Florida. He was a highly respected member of the professional staff at the experiment station. He later went into the development of a farm of his own. He was killed when this young man was only 10 years old and the mother took over the management of the farm and made an outstanding success of it. She is one of our finest citizens.

This young man, George Wedgworth, who I introduce today, is himself a graduate of Mississippi State University and an outstanding figure in our agricultural group in Florida, both as head of the family farm, which he has operated now for many years and as the president of the Cooperative Sugar Producing Organization, which, next only to the U.S. Sugar Corp. is the largest sugar producer in our State. I believe they have 50 or more independent growers who are members of that cooperative.

He serves as president of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association which has about 4,500 members who are producers of fruits and vegetables and is now a member of the executive committee and head of their labor committee in which respect he comes here to testify today.

I not only recommend him in the highest terms, but I think he is one of our finest citizens.

I know that this committee is not interested in offshore labor, but I do want to mention the fact that as president of the Cooperative Sugar Producing Organization which he heads, he has the responsibility for the handling of 3,300 each year of the offshore canecutters from Jamaica, Barbados, and the Lesser Antilles.

The housing, the health conditions, the rate of pay, and other things in connection with all of those offshore laborers are subject not only to the constant supervision by our own Department of Agriculture, but by the health people and by our own Department of Labor who send down frequent visitors and inspectors. The rate of pay of those offshore laborers is fixed at a minimum of $1.65 per hour. The average earnings, because this is on a piecework for canecutters, is something in excess of $2 per hour, as I am told by Mr. Wedgworth. The housing is one of the things that is particularly subject to inspection by the inspectors from the offshore government who are here frequently to see what is the condition of their workers.

I am particularly happy to present Mr. Wedgworth, because not only of his outstanding character and quality and attainment, but because I think he can present to this committee what comes nearer being a representative picture of the employment of our migrants, not only the offshore which appear only as canecutters, and the chairman will remember that a former Secretary of Labor tried his best to find domestic canecutters and ended with the tragic experience which I will be glad to narrate if the committee wants me to, but which finally persuaded him that there were no domestic workers who were willing to get out on their knees in the Florida muck and cut cane with machetes which have to be used in that very soft soil.

But he also represents, not only because of his own very large production, but production of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, a large part of the producers who do produce our fruit and vegetables.

Before introducing him I want to make one thing clear, and that is that among our producers of fruit and vegetables and our packers and canners there are various classifications. I live and was born in the county which produces more citrus fruit than any of the rest of our State and incidentally, produces more citrus fruit than all the State of California. I know something about the conditions there. We have quite a number of growers there who use nothing but domestic labor, I mean local labor, and supply for them working conditions in the production of fruit and other work through the year, also supply most of them the housing which they occupy.

We have others who in part use domestic labor and in part use labor which is transient and is in the migrant field which is of particular concern to this committee. We have still others that almost wholly rely upon that migrant work.

So far as the producers of fruit and vegetables in our State are concerned, they are no longer permitted to rely upon the offshore labor, which, to the amount of nearly 9,000 per year, are available only as canecutters for the sugarcane part of our industry and about whom I spoke a moment ago. We have the various classes of fruit producers, fruit packers and fruit processors. Incidentally, a large part of the migrants who are generally considered so, have nothing to do with the harvesting in the fields, but are the people, mostly women, who come in from adjoining States to produce our canned product and to help in the production of our concentrate product.

So, it is a complicated and differing picture that relates to many different fruits.

I am happy to present Mr. George Wedgworth because more than any other person that I know, he is in a position as former president of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association and now as head of their labor committee, to give a clear picture, a fair picture, and I am sure it is not a uniform picture, of the situation prevailing in our State in the field of the production, harvesting, preparation for shipment of fresh fruit and vegetables, canning and concentrating of our very large production of fruit and vegetables. I am happy to present Mr. George Wedgworth.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Senator Holland for that very kind introduction.

Mr. Wedgworth, you may proceed.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE WEDGWORTH, PRESIDENT, SUGARCANE GROWERS COOPERATIVE OF FLORIDA; ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE F. SORN, MANAGER, LABOR DIVISION, FLORIDA FRUIT & VEGETABLE ASSOCIATION

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Thank you Mr. Chairman. With your indulgence I will read my prepared statement.

My name is George H. Wedgworth, a grower from Belle Glade, Fla. At present, I am president and director of the Sugarcane Growers Cooperative of Florida, secretary and general manager of Wedgworth Farms, Inc., and past president and member of the executive committee of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association and chairman of its labor committee.

I appreciate the invitation to appear before you and welcome the opportunity to enter into the record my concern over the many charges made against the agricultural industry in Florida by various individuals, both before this subcommittee and in other media.

Before proceeding further, please let me make it perfectly clear that I recognize the need for continued improvement of working and living conditions of migrant agricultural labor. Toward this end, I join you in attempting to find a solution to the migrant problem that will, at the same time, allow Florida agricultural producers to continue in business.

The need for solutions to the migrant problem has been recognized by interested individuals in Florida long before television became involved through the "Harvest of Shame."

On October 14, 1955, the Governor of Florida created by executive order a Florida Citizens' Advisory Committee on Migrant Labor. The official report of this committee, published in April of 1957, includes recommendations in the areas of migrant housing, labor supply and recruitment, transportation, welfare and children's problems, migrant education, and migrant health and sanitation.

The need for Federal aid in certain interstate problems concerning migrants that could not be properly classified as the responsibilities of a single State was also recognized. The advisory committee included Florida leaders from all areas concerned with migrant workers.

There has been extensive progress made toward the betterment of working and living conditions of migrant workers in Florida through the years. I deplore the fact that these improvements have not been recognized by recent publicity, particularly the NBC white paper, "Migrant," in spite of the fact that NBC News was provided by the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association on May 27, 1970, with extensive documentation, showing the effort directed toward Florida migrants.

This was followed up on July 10 by Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association's furnishing pictorial documentation to Mr. Chet Huntley of NBC News. Copies of both the extensive documentation sent to

Mr. Huntley on May 27 and the pictorial documentation sent on July 10 are submitted for the record of this Senate subcommittee.

Senator SCHWEIKER. We will be pleased to have that. As I am not certain just how much of the materials can be printed in the record, I will note that it contains, along with other documents, a number of glossy, color photographs of housing units in Florida.

Mr. WEDGEWORTH. The document, because of the short length of time available for its preparation, does not cover all the effort directed toward migrants in Florida.

The documentation (D–1 of submittal) reveals that in the area of migrant housing the Farmers Home Administration submitted information showing there has been $14,220,655 utilized in Florida in the last 6 years for 1,970 families of migratory and/or seasonal agricultural workers.

This does not include loans by Farmers Home Administration to individual farm labor families, such as self-help housing projects in Collier, Lee, and Hendry Counties.

There are various public housing authority camps in Florida. You will note in D–2 of submittal that the four major housing authorities which have been in existence in Florida since the early 1940's have expended well over $18 million in the last few years in the construction of over 1,600 new replacement units of housing with an approximate capacity of 10,000 workers.

In addition, under submittal J–4, it is shown that approval has been granted for a $15 million farm labor housing project in the Fort Myers area of Lee County. The first stage, consisting of 350 homes, is now well under construction and expected to be completely finished by the end of this year. Eventually, there will be 1,250 units of public housing within this farm labor complex.

Submittal D–3 indicates the activities of the Federal Housing Authority and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development with regard to public housing units constructed or under construction in Florida which are designed for low-income individuals, including agricultural workers, either through rent subsidy or through low-interest loans.

You will note from this report that most of the $308 million expended by HUD and FHA in the programs for low-income housing in Florida has been expended in the last 3 years.

Growers and agricultural employers in Florida have also spent considerable sums of their money toward agricultural labor housing, as evidenced in some of the pictorial documentation also submitted for your information and record.

This by no means covers all the improvements in housing directed to aid low-income individuals, including agricultural workers in Florida.

In the area of labor supply and recruitment, the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, other Florida agricultural associations and individual growers have historically worked closely with the Farm Labor Department of the Florida Industrial Commission and other appropriate departments of the U.S. Department of Labor in insuring that domestic workers are advised of available job openings and conditions of employment in Florida and in coordinating the movement of workers so they do not arrive at their destination without job opportunities.

Conditions of employment in Florida agriculture have improved over the years. Documentation of mechanical aids and equipment which help improve agricultural employment conditions are too numerous to mention.

Section E of the submittal indicates other statutory improvements in wages and working conditions. Included is information which reveals that agricultural workers are now covered by the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage and Hour Law), the Federal and State provisions of child labor regulations, and increased benefits accruable under the Social Security Act.

Florida's agricultural employers also provide vastly improved transportation facilities for their workers. It has been estimated that nearly a million dollars is now being expended each year on transportation facilities for agricultural workers. Cooperating criteria employers offer a work contract to many domestic workers recruited through the facilities of the farm labor services of the Florida Industrial Commission, now called the Farm Labor Department of the Division of Labor and Employment Opportunities of the Florida Department of Commerce.

Under section F of the submittal, Florida's stringent regulations are listed with regard to use of pesticides. Additionally, activities in the areas of job safety are indicated, together with an estimate of the voluntary compliance under Florida workmen's compensation laws by many agricultural employers in Florida.

In the area of health, welfare, and children's programs, we respectfully refer you to section B of the submittal, wherein the Florida migrant health project, funded primarily through the Federal Government, is expending about a million dollars per year in the Florida migrant health project.

Additionally, under section G, the extent of distribution of food under the commodity distribution program indicates that food valued at $16,231,000 was distributed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, to needy individuals, including migrants.

Additionally, over $12 million in food was distributed through the school lunch program. The food stamp program is also used in several counties in Florida.

In the matter of migrant education, section C relates to the expenditure of over $7½ million in the Florida migratory child compensatory program in 1969. Additionally, over $700,000 was used in the Florida State adult migrant and seasonal farm workers' educational program in 1969.

In the area of sanitation, Florida has had a stringent sanitary code since the late 1940's. It was one of the first States in the Nation to adopt and enforce such a code. However, many times enforcement is possible only to the extent that other housing is available for the evicted tenants.

This is, by no means, a complete listing of all the activities directed toward migrants and I do apologize to any other interested groups who have been inadvertently omitted from inclusion in this report.

In any discussion of the Florida migrant problem, recognition must be given to the many dedicated individuals who have directed their efforts toward its solution. Although the total solution has not yet been attained it is not because of the lack of effort on their part.

This testimony, however, should not be interpreted as indicating that all that could be done or should be done has been done. On the contrary, there is much to be done.

I do not condone poor housing, poor working conditions, and stand ready to join with any individuals or groups who are genuinely interested in helping to find a solution to such problems.

I sincerely feel that housing, as depicted in the recent NBC television showing, "Migrant—an NBC White Paper" is not typical of the housing provided by most agricultural employers in Florida. The majority of time spent on housing in the NBC film was spent on housing owned by private individuals and not by agricultural employers.

U.S. Bureau of the Census figures for 1965, reveal that when migratory farmworkers are at their homebase, only 14 percent live on farm locations. Additionally, about 50 percent of migrant workers own, or are buying their houses or other living quarters at their homebase.

I feel that the extremely adverse publicity recently released primarily by the NBC film which insinuates that all migrant conditions in Florida are as typified in the film will actually stymie progress toward a solution of the migrant worker problem and will be detrimental to the worker himself.

For one thing, it will tend to alienate those individuals and groups who have, in fact, done much to improve the migrant conditions in Florida. In my estimation, it has also hurt in the continued efforts that have been made by various groups in attempting to assimilate the migrant into the communities rather than to separate him from the communities.

It is polarizing the migrant situation and can only hurt the effort being made to assimilate the migrant into the community. Recent publicity is downgrading all migrants in the eyes of the general public and in the eyes of those migrants who have pride in what they are doing and who look upon themselves as performing a necessary function in our society, which, in fact, they do.

The lack of acknowledgement of the many and varied activities directed toward Florida migrants and the inaccuracies and bias shown in the NBC White Paper—"Migrant"—are a particular disappointment to me and to the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association.

I feel that NBC News—in spite of the fact that Mr. Huntley had our documentation as early as May 27—produced a biased and unfair television special that only depicted the worst conditions surrounding some low-income individuals in Florida and that the film did much to downgrade the Florida migrant, Florida agriculture and the State of Florida itself.

In addition, NBC did not present any concrete suggestions for solutions to the migrant problem. Could this be because they were primarily interested in creating sensationalism—not in finding solutions to the problem?

I feel that there was much "sneaky journalism" involved in the film which took the exceptional circumstance or incident, many times out of context, and implied that Florida was "rampant with conditions bordering on slavery and racism" and that no one in Florida was making any constructive effort to help the migrant. These accusations and innuendos are just not so.

The film implied that all farmworkers who pick crops are migrants—which is untrue. Florida's agricultural work force includes many year-round residents of the State who work in agriculture, both on a full-time and on a part-time basis.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the maximum total hired farm labor force in Florida agriculture in 1968 was 103,000, of which 35,000 to 40,000 are year-round hired workers. Of the balance, over half are seasonal workers who reside in Florida on a year-round basis and are not looking for year-round employment.

Mr. Huntley stated that there were 200,000 migrant men, women and children in Florida. Figures compiled by this Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor—and as reflected in the 1968 annual report of this subcommittee—show 76,024 migrant workers and their nonworking dependents who travel with them.

Information received since the preparation of this statement reveals that the U.S. Department of Agriculture figures agree that the $891 average wage earned by migrants from farm work in the United States is true but is only a partial truth and used alone is misleading.

What Mr. Huntley failed to reveal in his narration is that the average migrant also earned $841 in nonfarm wages, or a total of $1,732. There is an additional figure which Mr. Huntley also failed to reveal. In the average migrant family there are 2.85 wage earners, so the average family wage would approximate $4,422-farm and nonfarm in 1969. This average is, of course, for U.S. migrants, not just those based in Florida. In Florida migrants have a longer work season than the average for the United States. Thus, Florida migrant wages should exceed the U.S. average.

Mr. Huntley stated, "* * * the migrants don't have the rights guaranteed the rest of us * * *" This implies that rights guaranteed the rest of us include unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, age requirements in child labor laws, and others. The rights that were stated in the film are not rights that all the people in the United States have today.

The fact that a person is a migrant is not the determining factor as to whether he is entitled to these rights or not. The determining factor is whether the particular job that he is working in is covered under Federal or State laws and regulations. It is the type of work that a migrant elects to follow that determines whether he is covered or not. There are areas of employment outside of agriculture that are not covered by unemployment insurance or by the Fair Labor Standards Act or by workmen's compensation, or by other Federal or State laws.

I feel that the NBC white paper should have noted that many Florida employers voluntarily elect to cover their workers under some State laws. For instance, workers in the citrus processing industry of Florida, including migrants who elect to work in this particular segment of the industry, are covered under the State unemployment compensation laws by the companies involved.

It should also have been noted that, although agricultural workers are not specifically included under the workmen's compensation laws of the State of Florida, a substantial portion—estimated to be well over 70 percent of all agricultural workers in Florida—are voluntarily covered by employers under Florida's workmen's compensation law.

Under our State workmen's compensation law, it is estimated that the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, who are self-insurors, alone cover between 20,000 and 30,000 domestic agricultural workers in the State of Florida at the request of cooperating members of the Association. This number is increasing each year and Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association is only one of several companies in this field.

Mr. Huntley made the statement that Florida's migrants "* * * are not protected by age requirements in child labor laws." This statement is completely untrue.

You will note from submittal E–8 that when school is in session, minors under age 16 may not be employed in agriculture in Florida during school hours. All children in Florida, including migrants, are not only covered by our State child labor law, but also by the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. These laws are enforced on both the Federal and State levels.

Additionally, there are restrictions on the use of children below age 16 in hazardous occupations under both Federal and State laws. Penalties are imposed under both the State and the Federal laws for the use of child labor illegally.

Mr. Huntley stated, "while others' annual wages have gone up, his (the migrant's) have stayed the same," compared to 10 years ago. A statement such as this made by a national commentator without insuring that his information is a true picture of actual conditions is unbelievable.

U.S. Department of Agriculture figures reveal that the average hourly wage rate paid to hired workers in Florida has increased 62.8 percent since 1961. Florida Department of Commerce figures reveal that prevailing piecework rates for the major agricultural crops in Florida have increased over 100 percent since 1960.

If the annual wage of migrant workers has not increased, it is not because of the unavailability of work, or that there has been no increase in either the hourly or the piece rate paid workers in Florida agriculture.

Mr. Huntley continues in his narration by stating "for they (the migrants) are paid not by the hour but by the piece. They are paid for what they pick, but not for the time it takes them to pick it." This is another completely untrue statement.

Payment by the piece does not obviate the employer's obligation to pay the minimum wage as stipulated under the Fair Labor Standards Act. A worker who is in a field or grove for 8 hours and who is working under a piece rate of pay is paid by the piece rate or the statutory hourly rate, whichever is the higher. A quick check by NBC News with any office of the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor could have confirmed this fact.

Mr. Huntley quotes the U.S. Department of Labor as estimating that if wages paid farmworkers were doubled, and all the increase passed on to the American housewife, she would pay just 1 or 2 more pennies for her produce. I am requesting the U.S. Department of Labor to verify their statistics in this respect as it relates to Florida agriculture.

At any rate, I would disagree with this conclusion. Because of the high percentage of fruits and vegetables grown for the fresh market in Florida, the percentage of total production costs attributable to labor costs is inordinately high compared to other areas of the country.

In the filmed interview with Mr. Vann, director of the Pahokee Housing Authority, Mr. Vann made the statement that the housing program is not geared to the needs of migrants. Mr. Vann has subsequently stated that the definition of a migrant as used in the commentary and his definition of a migrant are not the same.

He has stated that most of the occupants of the Pahokee Housing Authority are former migrants. Most of them continue to work in jobs connected with agriculture. With the loose interpretation of a migrant used by Mr. Huntley and as evidenced by his figure of 200,000 in the State of Florida, the housing authorities are geared toward the type of individual to whom Mr. Huntley refers, many of whom are no longer migrants.

The statement is made in the film that 80 percent of migrant children never enter a high school classroom. Here, again, we feel that this is an untrue statement. It implies that 80 percent of the children included in the 200,000 so-called migrants in Florida do not go to high school.

Bureau of Census figures for 1965, reveal that 50 percent of migratory workers attended at lease some high school and 20 percent finished high school—still not a good record but a far cry from the statement made in the film.

Mr. Huntley quoted the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor's estimate that 800,000 children under age 16 work as hired farmhands across the Nation. We do not dispute this figure.

However, Mr. Huntley failed to point out that most of these children work in agriculture on a part-time basis for additional income primarily in Northern States during the summer, when no school is in session.

In Florida, we also use children during hours when school is not in session, many of whom work in agriculture for additional earnings and not because it is needed for the bare sustenance of their families. With the increasing difficulties that school-age children are experiencing in locating part-time jobs, particularly during the summer period, it would be unfortunate for this subcommittee to consider an age restriction for use of children outside of school hours in agriculture.

Dr. Donald Stone, director of the Collier County migrant education program, stated that "the family, for example, when it works in the field is paid daily for what it does—not at the end of the week."

And he goes on to indicate that this has an influence on the child growing up with the idea that if he does something right he must be rewarded instantly. I agree with the latter part of Dr. Stone's statement. However, I would like to point out that the majority of farmworkers in Florida are not paid on a daily basis. They are paid on a weekly basis, most of them by check with the proper deductions taken out for social security. All agricultural workers—including migrants—are covered by social security.

As I have stated previously, we do not condone poor housing and we are not here to attempt to justify any poor housing that may be found in Florida. However, except for one sequence of film we do not recall that the NBC White Paper—Migrant—showed any housing actually owned and operated by agricultural producers in Florida. The housing shown was that of public housing authorities or private owners who have no direct connection with agriculture.

Agriculture, therefore, except in the public housing authorities, where agricultural leaders in various counties have been very active, would have little influence in helping correct poor housing situations where workers live in housing of their own choosing. U.S. Bureau of Census figures reveal that only 14 percent of migrants live in on-farm housing. Many of the growers who do provide on-farm housing accommodations in Florida provide free housing for their agricultural workers.

Florida's agricultural employers and the relevant agencies of government in Florida have done much—particularly in the last 10 years—toward the betterment of living and working conditions for Florida's agricultural workers, including migrants.

I realize that in spite of the fact that a solution to the problem is being diligently sought, no lasting solution has yet been found. Any solution that does not consider both sides of the problem cannot be a lasting one.

Florida growers—particularly those who are heavily inclined toward producing for the fresh fruit and vegetable market—have been obtaining increased competition in marketing their product, from low-wage countries, particularly Mexico. Agricultural producers are greatly handicapped by this competition. Their abilities to pay increased costs of production—including labor—are being greatly impaired.

This has been a longstanding and continuing concern of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association and its growers. This last season has been a particularly disastrous year to our vegetable growers, particularly our tomato growers.

As recently as May 22, Mr. Joffre C. David, secretary-treasurer of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, presented testimony to the House Committee on Ways and Means regarding the problem of unlimited importation of fresh fruits and vegetables from foreign countries, particularly Mexico, in direct competition with Florida growers.

The film depicted corporated farming and "bigness" as contributing to the problem of the migrant. Others who have testified before this subcommittee have attacked corporate farming. These are unfounded attacks.

I manage a corporate farm, which is made up of my mother and my two sisters.

A. Duda & Sons, Inc., is also a family corporate farm. It was a gross injustice to Andy Duda, Jr., to have been filmed and quoted out of context and represented to the viewing audience in a most unfair manner by Mr. Huntley.

Those of us who personally know the history of Andrew Duda, Sr., who brought his three sons from Czechoslovakia to work in the factories in Ohio as poor immigrants, deplore this injustice.

The Duda's saved their money to come to Florida to farm, only to go broke, whereupon they returned to the north and worked as hired agricultural workers themselves before returning to Florida the second time to farm.

From this meager beginning, they have built one of the most respected organizations in the Nation by always maintaining Christian and humanitarian principles in the conduct of their business. They are a fine example of how corporate farming with efficient production practices, can provide benefits to both their employees and the consumer.

The question arises as to why does one attack or accuse "bigness" or corporate farming or attempt to discredit agriculture?

What are the attackers' motives?

Would it not be more productive to work with agriculture for the realization of solutions to the migrant problem rather than to attack the bigness of producers?—Producers who now supply the consumer their food requirement for only 16½ percent of their disposable income prepared to communistic countries like Russia, where consumers spend over 50 percent of their disposable incomes for food.

I will depart from my printed text to answer your telegram, the second question that you made inquiry of. I also would like to offer in the record of the committee hearing a copy of the telegram which in part stated that you "* * * are deeply concerned about news accounts alleging that presssure was put on NBC to alter or censor parts of 'Migrant, An NBC White Paper.' "

Senator MONDALE. Without objection, the telegram will be entered in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, D.C.

GEORGE WEDGWORTH,
Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida,
Belle Glade, Fla.

I am deeply concerned about news accounts alleging that pressure was put on NBC to alter or censor parts of "Migrant: An NBC White Paper." From my personal experience I can affirm that general living and working conditions of migrants are as dismal if not worse than those portrayed in the documentary.

The Migratory Labor Subcommittee is interested in obtaining additional information about the conditions portrayed in that documentary. I therefore invite you to testify before the subcommittee at a hearing the latter part of the week of July 20, 1970. Your response at the earliest possible time would be appreciated.

WALTER F. MONDALE.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. This is categorically unfounded and untrue. Quite to the contrary, our concern was to be sure that the American public was furnished with an unbiased and balanced presentation. Upon learning of the publicity which was presented in the newspapers by NBC News releases dating back even before the research and the filming in Florida, we became aware of the purpose of the film. Mr. Huntley is quoted in the May 1 issue—well, this issue is after he did come to Florida when he stated in part, "I would just love to get hold of something demonstrating that real meaningful changes are being made. If they are, people certainly are not willing to talk about it."

He went on in addition and said, "I wish they would step forward."

We notice in the Atlanta Journal by NBC's own news release, and which I will enter into the record of the committee, on April 25 there was indication that the film was going to be a biased film. This was enough to put us on notice, especially because of the fact that we had talked to the producer, that the film may not contain a balanced view.

We presented to Mr. Huntley and to other officials of NBC the same documentation which we have now furnished to this committee. We have yet to have received any acknowledgement from NBC of furnishing them this documentation. We wrote to NBC asking them for balance and for fairness in presenting the picture and that they should make themselves aware of not only the bad, but also the good.

We had reason to believe that this was not going to be presented as a fair unbiased film and therefore, we told them that we would like to have the American people be told of both sides of the situation.

As far as charges of balance, I notice by the news releases themselves, quoting the personnel of NBC, that they stated that any television station which did not show the film had better have a good reason for doing so. I think that this committee might also look into the pressure brought by NBC on the individual stations.

I again express my appreciation for your invitation to appear before this Senate subcommittee and volunteer my help in finding a solution to the migrant problem that would allow the agricultural producers of Florida to pay increased wages and benefits to its workers and continue to stay in business.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Mr. Wedgworth.

Your association, I am told, sent letters to Mr. Goodman, president of NBC, and Dean Burch, Chairman of the FCC, and at least one local NBC affiliate in June 1970 suggesting, "If the film is shown by a licensee of the Commission and is in fact a slanted news presentation, the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association will request the FCC to specify an issue as to whether such licensee is adequately discharging its responsibilities so as to warrant its continuing to be a licensee."

(The information referred to follows:)

WASHINGTON, D.C., *June 22, 1970.*

MR. JULIAN B. GOODMAN,
President, National Broadcasting Co.,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: On May 27, 1970, Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association sent a letter to Mr. Chet Huntley expressing its grave concern that a "documentary" recently filmed in Florida and reported to be narrated by Mr. Huntley, will not accurately portray the conditions of so-called "migrant" agricultural workers in that State.

The enclosed copy of our letter of this date to the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission relates to the same subject. As stated therein it is the position of Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association that the telecasting of a news presentation with knowledge or reason to believe that it is slanted or inaccurate requires the specification of an issue to determine whether any licensee using such material has adequately discharged its responsibility so as to warrant its continuing to be a licensee.

It is our understanding that the film we refer to is scheduled to be shown over many television stations affiliated with NBC on July 16, 1970 at 7:30 p.m. EDT or PDT. We request that you bring the views which we express here to the responsible operators of each station to which this documentary will be offered.

Very truly yours,

L. ALTON DENSLOW, *Attorney at Law.*

FLORIDA FRUIT & VEGETABLE ASSOCIATION,
Orlando, Fla., July 1, 1970.

GENERAL MANAGER,
WPTV, Palm Beach, Fla.

DEAR SIR: This Association is in receipt of news releases and other information which have caused us great concern over the possibility of NBC News televising a completely slanted documentary on migrants and migrant conditions in Florida.

Our Washington attorneys have registered our concern with the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and to the President of the National Broadcasting Company. We are attaching copies of this correspondence for your information and consideration.

We are respectfully bringing this matter to your attention as a reported affiliate of NBC.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE F. SORN,
Manager, Labor Division.

WASHINGTON, D.C., *June 22, 1970.*

Hon. DEAN BURCH,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: We are counsel to Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, a non-profit co-operative association which represents over 4,500 producers of vegetables, sugar cane, citrus and tropical fruits in virtually all the major agricultural producing areas in the State of Florida.

On May 27, 1970, that Association directed a letter to Mr. Chet Huntley expressing its concern that a "documentary" which has been filmed in Florida by NBC News will according to reports in the press and statements allegedly made by persons in the employ of NBC News, be designed to convey the impression that little or nothing has been attempted or accomplished in the State of Florida over the past ten years intervening since the CBS film "Harvest of Shame" to improve the living, working, and other conditions of migrant agricultural workers. A copy of the Association's letter to Mr. Huntley, together with a copy of the index of attachments referred to therein, is enclosed. The attachments, copies of which are not being enclosed because of their volume, document factual information demonstrating many of the improvements which have been and continue to be made for the benefit of agricultural workers in Florida relating to health, education, housing, employment, working conditions, welfare assistance and otherwise. It was requested that NBC take these facts into serious consideration in the preparation of the film, and it was pointed out that a biased presentation resulting from the failure to take into consideration all of the activities surrounding agricultural workers could result in grave injustice to the people of the State of Florida, particularly the workers and their employers. Copies of the letter and of the file enclosed therewith were sent to Mr. Gerald Adler, President, NBC Enterprises, Mr. Reuven Frank, President, NBC News, and Mr. Martin Carr, Producer and Director, NBC News, so that they will be fully informed of the basis for the Association's concern and its desire to be of whatever further assistance it can in assuring that NBC is cognizant of all available factual information which is pertinent to presenting a fair and accurate portrayal of the state of agricultural workers in Florida.

It is our understanding that the film is scheduled to be shown as a "documentary" television special over about 190 of the NBC affiliated stations on July 16, 1970, at 7:30 p.m. EDT or PDT. If the film is shown by a licensee of the Commission and is in fact a slanted news presentation, Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association will request the Commission to specify an issue as to whether such licensee is adequately discharging its responsibilities so as to warrant its continuing to be a licensee.

Very truly yours,

L. ALTON DENSLOW, *Attorney at Law.*

Senator MONDALE. I interpret that to mean, "If you show this documentary we will try to take your license away from you."

How do you interpret it?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I do not interpret it that way.

Senator MONDALE. How do you interpret it?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Well, in both letters that were written we merely stated that if they did not show fairness—my interpretation is if they did not show fairness, and that is all we were asking for is fairness and objectivity in reporting to the American people.

Senator MONDALE. But if they did not do that, what would follow?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. What could follow if they did not, if they were unfair, then we did tell them that we intended to move against their license.

Senator MONDALE. That is the only thing you asked was that it be fair from your standpoint——

Mr. WEDGWORTH. No, fair from all standpoints, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Some people have been unkind enough to suggest that this was a threat to those stations. Would you regard it as such?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I do not regard it as such. I think the letter speaks for itself.

Senator MONDALE. I do too.

Now, were there any stations in Florida or Texas or elsewhere that did not show the NBC documentary?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. To my knowledge in Florida there were some who questioned whether they would show it, but did show it.

Senator MONDALE. Were there some NBC affiliates in Florida which did not?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I don't know of any station in Florida which did not, from my own personal knowledge.

Senator MONDALE. Did this letter go to any of the stations in Texas?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Did any of the stations to which that letter was sent not show the documentary?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I have heard by hearsay that possibly one.

Senator MONDALE. Did this letter go to any stations in Baltimore?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Yes, it did.

Senator MONDALE. Was there a station there that did not show the documentary?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I will be happy to read the reply which was received from a station in Baltimore which states: "For your information, based on closed circuit preview of NBC program 'The Migrant' WBAL–TV, Baltimore, will not present this program July 16, 1970."

Senator MONDALE. Did that telegram come after they received your letter threatening revocation of their license if they showed an unfair documentary?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. With all due respect, we have not threatened. We have merely asked that the American people be given the opportunity of objectivity in news reporting.

Senator MONDALE. I just asked the time sequence. Did that telegram come after they received your letter?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. This telegram did come after the letter, yes.

Senator MONDALE. Can you explain to me why so many people seem unable to understand your point of view? Over 10 years ago we had "Harvest of Shame," by Edward R. Murrow which, among other things, delivered a stinging indictment of the conditions of migrants and farmworkers in your State.

Now, these many years later we have another documentary by a different network which comes up with the same indictment. A year ago the nutrition committee on which I serve, spent some time in Collier and Lee Counties and we were horrified, and I use that word advisedly, by the rotten, stinking housing, by the humiliation of these poor people, by the inadequacy of the food programs, and by the hostility of the local officials.

And now this morning the president of one of the largest corporations in this country says of his own working conditions in Florida that they are deplorable.

How is it that everyone seems to get such a mistaken impression of the situation?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Let me say again that the deplorable conditions which you evidently saw and the deplorable conditions which were represented on both films are indefensible by anyone, including myself and the people whom I represent. We are opposed to this and we offer our assistance in any way.

Now, I am saying that it is not typical, it is not typical of the living and working conditions of agricultural people in the State of Florida.

Senator MONDALE. Isn't Collier one of the large migrant and farmworker counties in the State?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Well, in terms of area, yes.

Senator MONDALE. I mean in terms of farmworkers.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. In terms of personnel, to my knowledge, I would say no, it is not the largest. It is one of the larger.

Senator MONDALE. Wouldn't what we saw there, the testimony we heard and the housing we saw, be typical of Florida, or is Collier an unusual county?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I do not personally know all of the conditions that are in that county. I would not say if what was reported by the press following your visit to Florida is typical of Florida. I think more typical of Florida are the conditions as far as improvements and advancements which are contained in the book which lies by your side, Senator.

There are poor conditions. These poor conditions are being scheduled out. There are tremendous sums of money being spent for new housing and improvements. But, Senator, the housing is not, as has already been testified to, the basis of the problem. There are many things being done which I have testified to and of which documentation has been made.

To say the very worst is typical of the State I categorically deny that. What has been shown by a lot of the press has been the very worst in an effort to say that this is typical of the conditions throughout the State.

This is not based upon fact.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Wedgworth, do you run a labor camp with salaried workers?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. No, sir, I do not. I know, sir, what you are referring to. I have on one of my farms, my family farm, a 50-room rooming house. This rooming house is furnished free at no cost with all utilities furnished free. This is a house which is a marginal house.

Senator MONDALE. It is a what?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. It is a marginal house as far as meeting State and county codes. Admittedly so. This was a house that was built in 1936. When the news media in the county in which I reside learned that I was coming here they attacked me in the press the day that I was traveling to testify.

This house, I want to close it, I want to phase it out, and I have been in the process of providing for those people who have lived in it in the past an opportunity to buy and move into their own homes in that I find that ownership is one of the keys in respect to housing. This house is being phased out.

But to say that it is typical is not representative in fact.

Senator Mondale. Do you have other housing that you provide on your premises?

Mr. Wedgworth. Not on my farm operation. Our emphasis, sir, has been in respect to housing to encourage homeownership.

Senator Mondale. How many bathrooms are there in that building for the occupants?

Mr. Wedgworth. As far as sanitary facilities and showers, there are two large adjoining and attached sanitary facilities. I can't tell you the total amount of shower heads and lavatories and other things, but they meet the code as far as number of rooms and occupancy of the building.

Senator Mondale. How many showers or bathroom facilities in the building itself for these families?

Mr. Wedgworth. As I said, there are two, both women and men.

Senator Mondale. In separate facilities?

Mr. Wedgworth. They are attached to the main and are a part of the main building.

Senator Mondale. I read in the statement of Mr. Pierce, executive director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, that you have two shower spigots, one for the men, one for the women, to serve the whole camp. Is that an accurate statement?

Mr. Wedgworth. No, sir; I don't believe that is accurate.

Senator Mondale. How many do you have?

Mr. Wedgworth. I really don't know.

Senator Mondale. To reach the bathrooms, he said, tenants must leave the building, often to trek through mud to overflowing johns.

Mr. Wedgworth. That is not true.

Senator Mondale. That is a lie?

Mr. Wedgworth. I said it is not true.

Senator Mondale. Because of the distance, he says, tenants often use slop buckets in their rooms which they empty in the morning or when they gain access. Wash basins are located 25 yards east in a shed. There are no recreation facilities for the children; there is no grass; the building is infested with roaches and rats; flys and other insects swarm around the area. The building has no fire escape.

Would you respond to that?

Mr. Wedgworth. I would say that that is untrue and, Senator, I suspected attacks when I came here. I knew that this attack was coming. Let me say this, that these facilities will be closed tomorrow provided someone can find a place for these people to live. Let me remind you that most of them do not work on my farm, all of them live there free.

Now, it is regretful that this item has been sent up to you to attack my testimony as an individual when I represent a group of growers in the State of Florida.

Senator Mondale. Senator Saxbe.

Senator Saxbe. You testified that the fact that the minimum wage applied regardless of the piece rate.

Mr. Wedgworth. That is correct.

Senator Saxbe. We had Mr. Smith this morning from Coca-Cola who testified that the people who work in the citrus groves are paid by the box and if they are shaped up and they get to the grove and they are rained out or if the bus breaks down or the truck for the fruit does not show up or for any other reason, then they don't get paid.

But you say that they do get paid once they agree to go to work.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I said that the time spent working in the field—I am not referring now to citrus. Frankly, my operation is in vegetables. I am more familiar with that. I would defer to someone who is more familiar with the citrus industry.

But in regard to vegetables where workers travel very short distances, the time in the field is kept and they are either paid the hourly rate not lower than the statutory minimum or the piecework rate whichever is the greatest.

Admittedly, there are some times, even after a worker begins to work and a rain ensues, if it is one that will last all day these workers are taken back to their living facilities.

But the statement is that either the statutory minimum as a minimum is paid or the piecework, whichever is the higher.

Senator SAXBE. But if they are rained out or a bus breaks down or the truck for the produce does not come or if any of a dozen different variables happen, they are not paid, they are only paid when they are working.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. They are paid for the hours they work in the field; yes.

Senator SAXBE. Right. And if this lasts for a week they make nothing that week.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. It is very unusual in the State of Florida that rains last for a week.

Senator SAXBE. I know, but if they don't get hired, if they are available but don't go to the field, they don't get paid. Isn't that part of this problem, that you have people in these camps that are available for work and for one reason or another they don't get work, then they have great financial distress?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. That may be true, but I would remind you that in my own operation, which I am personally familiar with, we operated with an average of about 75 percent total employment, meaning that we had as an average about 25 percent jobs not filled. As far as job opportunities this is typical of the area in south Florida.

I don't believe that it could be stated that there is not job opportunity. There is job opportunity.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Mr. Wedgworth, in your testimony you said that—

> It is the type of work that a migrant elects to follow that determines whether he is covered or not. This is in terms of workmen's compensation, child labor laws and unemployment compensation. There are areas of employment outside of agriculture that are not covered by employment insurance and by fair labor standards.

What kind of work do you have in mind? What are these other areas that aren't covered?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Under the Fair Labor Standard Act? Or unemployment compensation?

Senator SCHWEIKER. Whatever you are referring to on page 9 of your testimony.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Well, under the Fair Labor Standards Act those not covered, as I understand the act, are domestic servants, small business not engaged in interstate commerce, commercial and office help, doctors and dentist offices, family farms, some outside salesmen and buyers, small rental and services establishments, resort types of amusement and recreation, very small newspapers and publications and even motion picture establishment employees.

Now under unemployment compensation in Florida, barbers are not covered, insurance men, domestic services in homes, casual labor not in the course of employers trade or business, church employees, teachers, musical employees and some nonprofit organization employees.

Senator SCHWEIKER. The point I am trying to get at is how is that analogous to the migrant labor situation? It seems to me that none of those occupations that you mention have any of the environment or social or economic problems property or housing or any of these other problems we relate, so I don't see how that is relevant.

The thing that is relevant to me is that we have not covered these and we probably should cover all those areas for migrants that we have not covered. The migrant worker has sort of been a stepchild. When you cite these others, I do not see what bearing that has on it in that they do not have to live under the conditions that the migrants do.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I would remind the committee that many of the migrants who come to Florida do not work in, say, the fields. Many work in processing plants which are covered by unemployment insurance. What I was trying to say was a migrant just because of the fact he is a migrant does not necessarily have to be married to that particular job. He can select a job where there is coverage and there are migrants who make that selection.

Senator SCHWEIKER. Then you also say in your testimony that we should not judge housing based on the kind of housing that was primarily shown in the documentary; we should judge it based on those people who live on the growers houses and farming camps.

Yet, only 14 percent, according to your own testimony, live on farm locations. Now maybe I missed your point.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Let me clarify it by stating——

Senator SCHWEIKER. If 85 percent don't live in these areas why should we not judge where the 85 percent live? Even if your assumption is right that they live better on corporate farms than others, why should we not judge it on the basis of where the majority of them live which is the 85 percent.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I think if you would take the time to review the pictorial documentation not only of on-farm housing, but also off-farm housing, we in agriculture are interested in the total spectrum of housing. Most of us find that on-farm housing is really not the solution to the problem. That is the reason I am phasing out of on-farm housing.

The solution, in my opinion, as has already been stated, is to try to get the migrant with roots down for a long enough period of time that he can develop homeownership of his own or to have it provided by a public housing authority.

As I have stated, there are vast sums of money in housing presently being built and are typified in the documentation which I have furnished.

I have said, yes, there are some conditions which are completely deplorable, but to cite them as typical is not fair. We want to phase out that which does not meet standards. We want to get these people into their own homes if possible. I would just venture to say that if you would take a look at the good as well as the bad in arriving at what is typical this is all that we are asking.

We are saying that we are prepared to phase out the bad.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I saw in your book of photographs some pictures of public housing projects, but again, we have had a number of witnesses before this committee say that the average migrant just does not get a chance to get in a housing project like that.

I know around Washington for most public housing projects that you would consider good or acceptable by fair standards there is a waiting list. You have to wait to get into public housing projects and you have to qualify under a certain economic situation.

By the time the migrant would wait he would be harvesting a crop somewhere else. I am not sure that public housing as practiced now is an answer to the migrant worker. Sure, the percent that resides there the year around, yes, I acknowledge that. But that does not seem to be where the problem lies. The problem lies with those who have to move. Those are the ones who are basically in the subpoverty conditions and they can't get into public housing.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I did not mean to say only public housing is the solution, no. The self-help housing projects that are coming in are very, very fine. There is need for additional funding in respect to upgrading housing. We support this very strongly.

However, to tear down all the bad at one time, where would these people live? This has to be a gradual phasing out process and one which we have been into within the last 3 or 4 years on an accelerated basis.

Senator SCHWEIKER. You heard the Coca-Cola people testify about forming a National Alliance of Agri-Businessmen. I am wondering if your group would be willing to participate in such an alliance and also would be willing to do some of the things that Coca-Cola apparently is willing to do in terms of what their approach is.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Well, I don't fully understand the alliance, but as it has been explained here in general terms, the answer to that would be yes, we are quite interested. Anyone who would purport that we are not interested in advancing the welfare and the living conditions of the migrant is totally inaccurate. Yes, we have been working and this is the point that I have been trying to make, that there are many programs going on in the State of Florida which have to be recognized but that is not to say that the bad is being condoned.

We deplore the bad, but I think it has to be recognized that when $7½ million annually is being spent in child compensatory educational programs just on migrant labor children, I think you have to recognize that there is much good being done. And to typify everything as being bad is damaging to the very people whom we want to help.

Senator SCHWEIKER. I also sit on a committee where we studied and worked with the problems of coal miners of which we have a lot more in Pennsylvania than we have migrant workers.

It seems to me that one of the purposes of exposing and bringing to light these conditions is that it triggers action. Yes, some case may or may not be overstated. I am not expert enough to know. You saw in your statement that we are downgrading and taking away from the pride of the migrant.

If these are in fact unfair attacks, and I am not saying they are, then certainly the people who are most concerned will know that, the migrants themselves will know they are unfair attacks. We have not had an avalanche of letters or correspondence saying they are unfair attacks, I must say. If they are not then certainly would they not serve a constructive purpose of focusing our social responsibilities that all of us, not just the growers, but the people who eat fruits and vegetables, the consumers, the people who pay the bill, and the corporate farms have? What is so wrong with holding the spotlight of attention even on the worse parts?

Don't we all need that in all of our respective jobs?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I would say yes, let us look at bad, but also let us look at the good and give credit where credit is due. All we have asked, and I want to make this abundantly clear, we deplore the sensationalizing of only the bad. We think there is progress being made and we have tried here before this committee to document that progress.

We have also said that, yes, there is bad. We do not condone the bad. There again to present in the eyes of the American public a completely unbalanced and biased presentation of the conditions by only showing the bad and not giving credit for the many programs that I have documented here today, I think is totally unfair to the workers and their employers.

Senator SCHWEIKER. It is a little like the argument of how do you get a traffic light on a corner? Unfortunately, for our society, as I see it, you don't get the traffic light at the corner until you have four accidents that get written up and sensationalized in the paper.

After a few people get hurt and get killed then you get a traffic light at the corner.

Isn't that the process that is at work here and isn't that a self-correcting process that is needed in our society to upgrade ourselves.

Mr. WEDGWORTH. With all due respect, Senator, the analogy is oversimplification of a very complex problem. The analogy of a traffic light of a problem, one being there and not being there, is not symbolic at all of the conditions that are taking place and the progress. There are many caution lights, if you want to make the analogy, or other stoplights, comparing your analogy, that are there now.

I think it is an oversimplification. To take what little dignity a person has away by categorizing him as a bum, which was done in the film "Migrant," I don't think is good.

Senator MONDALE. Will you yield there?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. Wasn't this a young child who said of himself that he felt he was a bum?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. That is true.

Senator MONDALE. Now, what kind of system produces that kind of tragedy? That is what we are asking today. That was not editorializing. That was a child whose life had been ruined. And I would like to see some expression of concern out of you. These people are being mangled and destroyed and we hear nothing from you.

Mr. Wedgworth. Senator, you have not heard my remarks. I am concerned, but to take the very poor and say that is typical of all migrant children is just not fair. I think we could find, probably within a few blocks of where we are sitting here, a child that would say the same thing.

Senator Mondale. Yes, sir.

Mr. Wedgworth. But that may not be typical of all the children in the District. This is only the point. If I have not convinced you of our sincerity and concern over this problem then I have failed. I have tried to make it abundantly clear that we stand ready.

It is quite interesting, Senator, that when committees and film companies come to Florida they get around them the people or invite people who want to present the bad.

Senator Mondale. Right. How do you explain the Coca-Cola Co., which discovered that its own conditions were deplorable? Are they outsiders who don't know anything?

Mr. Wedgworth. I did not say that at all, but I was saying in respect to the filming of migrants.

Senator Mondale. What about Coca-Cola? Don't they understand it either?

Mr. Wedgworth. I have no argument with Coca-Cola. I concur with many of their remarks. I feel that the growers that I represent are also concerned. But to put the burden of a problem which is not totally agriculture's problem solely on agriculture's shoulders by innuendos is unfair.

We are concerned, and I have thrown out to this committee several times that we are willing to work in any way to alleviate the conditions which have been shown as the worst in Florida and also to help in upgrading.

Senator Mondale. Let me ask you this. Would you support legislation to extend unemployment insurance to farmworkers?

Mr. Wedgworth. Would I support legislation? I would have to look at that legislation before I could give you an answer.

Senator Mondale. Would you support the right of farmworkers to organize and bargain collectively?

Mr. Wedgworth. Senator, you know I testified in front of this committee some time ago in respect to that same question and I think my views are well on record with the committee, but if I could make an analogy, since analogies have come forward, you know, some of the papers that have been presented by the national network have been on Appalachia. It seems to me that in Appalachia the coal miners have had an opportunity to organize for many years but that has not cured the problems.

I concur in the president of Coca-Cola's testimony in that the mere legislation setting up a mechanism for organization of agricultural workers will not in itself correct the problems that we are discussing today.

Senator Mondale. Can you think of any Federal legislation that you think is needed in any area?

Mr. Wedgworth. I would like to stress this question of housing. I think some legislation is needed to make housing more available to migrants in encouraging homeownership. I think homeownership is more important than mass public housing.

Senator MONDALE. Senator Saxbe.

Senator SAXBE. Do you think your industry is capable of giving regular well paying employment to these people?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. There has been quite a change in the industry in Florida, a lot of phasing out of commodities which call for short time seasonal harvest with high labor demand. The strawberry industry almost has gone out. Tomatoes have experienced very great difficulties with importations from Mexico.

In my own farm operations I phased out all vegetable operations with the exception of celery because of the short labor demands. We are going to commodities that have harvesting requirements, for instance, up to 35 weeks and more. Then we are finding ways through mechanization of reducing those employees so that we are able to keep those employees the year around, or at least longer periods of employment to do away with the needs for short-term employment.

Senator SAXBE. I understand that in regard to that type of employment you are phasing out, but still you have the sorghum and the flowers which you know are pretty substantial in your area.

Is there any way that a labor supply can be provided without victimizing the worker? Nothing is going to solve this worker's problem and his family's problem except regular, well paid employment, is there?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I think it is going to take more than regular well paid employment.

Senator SAXBE. Is there anything going to solve this man's problem and his family's problem but regular well paid employment?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. I think that will contribute to the solution. However, that in itself is not the solution.

Senator SAXBE. How can you raise his standards and give him the things that he has to have to support a family without regular well paying employment?

Mr. WEDGWORTH. In respect to the migrant situation there are migrants who have earnings which are respectable, under even the Federal guidelines. Where the problem is, is in the motivation of some migrants as has already been put before this committee.

I think there is the work opportunity in agriculture now for those who are properly motivated. I think one of the big problems is to find some time, either through education, or through some social work in respect to bringing the dignity of these people, not all of them, some of them, to the point where they will seek year-round employment.

Year-round employment is offered in my county in the construction trades and many other trades. What we need is motivation so that if they don't want to work in agriculture full time they have an opportunity to move to other parts of employment. I think this is more than money.

Senator SAXBE. No further questions.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you for your testimony. We will print your entire statement in the record at this point, as well as certain of the exhibits. Because of their length, and the color photographs, some of the exhibits will be retained in the subcommittee files, as printing will be impossible. I do note, however, that you do have a rather detailed index of the exhibits, and certainly we will print that.

(The information referred to follows:)

STATEMENT

BY

GEORGE H. WEDGWORTH

BEFORE

THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE

OF

THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

UNITED STATES SENATE

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1970

WASHINGTON, D. C.

My name is George H. Wedgworth, a grower from Belle Glade, Florida. At present, I am President and Director of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida, Secretary and General Manager of Wedgworth Farms, Inc., and Past President and Member of the Executive Committee of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association and Chairman of its Labor Committee.

I appreciate the invitation to appear before you and welcome the opportunity to enter into the record my concern over the many charges made against the agricultural industry in Florida by various individuals, both before this Subcommittee and in other media.

Before proceeding further, please let me make it perfectly clear that I recognize the need for continued improvement of working and living conditions of migrant agricultural labor. Toward this end, I join you in attempting to find a solution to the migrant problem that will, at the same time, allow Florida agricultural producers to continue in business.

The need for solutions to the migrant problem has been recognized by interested individuals in Florida long before television became involved through the "Harvest of Shame." On October 14, 1955, The Governor of Florida created by Executive Order a Florida Citizens' Advisory Committee on Migrant Labor. The official report of this Committee, published in April of 1957, includes recommendations in the areas of migrant housing, labor supply and recruitment, transportation, welfare and children's problems, migrant education, and migrant health and sanitation.

The need for Federal aid in certain intrastate problems concerning migrants that could not be properly classified as the responsibilities of a single state was also recognized. The Advisory Committee included Florida leaders from all areas concerned with migrant workers.

There has been extensive progress made towards the betterment of working and living conditions of migrant workers in Florida through the years. I deplore the fact that these improvements have not been recognized by recent publicity, particularly the NBC White Paper -- Migrant -- in spite of the fact that NBC News was provided by the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association on May 27, 1970, with extensive documentation, showing the effort directed towards Florida migrants.

This was followed up on July 10 by Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association's furnishing pictorial documentation to Mr. Chet Huntley of NBC News. Copies of both the extensive documentation sent to Mr. Huntley on May 27 and the pictorial documentation sent on July 10 are submitted for the record of this Senate Subcommittee.

The documentation, because of the short length of time available for its preparation, does not cover all the effort directed towards migrants in Florida.

The documentation (D-1 of Submittal) reveals that in the area of migrant housing the Farmers Home Administration submitted information showing there has been $14,220,655 utilized in Florida in the last six years for 1,970 families of migratory and/or seasonal agricultural workers.

This does not include loans by Farmers Home Administration to individual farm labor families, such as self-help housing projects in Collier, Lee and Hendry Counties.

There are various Public Housing Authority Camps in Florida. You will note in D-2 of Submittal that the four major housing authorities which have been in existence in Florida since the early 1940's have expended well over $18,000,000 in the last few years in the construction of over 1,600 new replacement units of housing with an approximate capacity of 10,000 workers.

In addition, under Submittal J-4, it is shown that approval has been granted for a $15,000,000 Farm Labor Housing Project in the Fort Myers area of Lee County. The first stage, consisting of 350 homes, is now well under construction and expected to be completely finished by the end of this year. Eventually, there will be 1,250 units of public housing within this Farm Labor complex.

Submittal D-3 indicates the activities of the Federal Housing Authority and the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development with regard to public housing units constructed or under construction in Florida which are designed for low-income individuals, including agricultural workers, either through rent subsidy or through low-interest loans.

You will note from this report that most of the $308,000,000 expended by HUD and FHA in the programs for low-income housing in Florida has been expended in the last three years.

Growers and agricultural employers in Florida have also spent considerable sums of their money toward agricultural labor housing, as evidenced in some of the pictorial documentation also submitted for your information and record.

This by no means covers all the improvements in housing directed to aid low-income individuals, including agricultural workers in Florida.

In the area of labor supply and recruitment, the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, other Florida agricultural associations and individual growers have historically worked closely with the Farm Labor Department of the Florida Industrial Commission and other appropriate departments of the United States Department of Labor in insuring that domestic workers are advised of available job openings and conditions of employment in Florida and in coordinating the movement of workers so they do not arrive at their destination without job opportunities.

Conditions of employment in Florida agriculture have improved over the years. Documentation of mechanical aids and equipment which help improve agricultural employment conditions are too numerous to mention.

Section E of the Submittal indicates other statutory improvements in wages and working conditions. Included is information which reveals that agricultural workers are now covered by the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act (Wage & Hour Law), the Federal and State provisions of Child Labor Regulations, and increased benefits accruable under the Social Security Act.

Florida's agricultural employers also provide vastly improved transportation facilities for their workers. It has been estimated that nearly a million dollars is now being expended each year on transportation facilities for agricultural workers. Cooperating "Criteria" Employers offer a Work Contract to many domestic workers recruited through the facilities of the Farm Labor Services of the Florida Industrial Commission, now called the Farm Labor Department of the Division of Labor and Employment Opportunities of the Florida Department of Commerce.

Under Section F of the Submittal, Florida's stringent regulations are listed with regard to use of pesticides. Additionally, activities in the areas of job safety are indicated, together with an estimate of the voluntary compliance under Florida Workmen's Compensation Laws by many agricultural employers in Florida.

In the area of Health, Welfare and Children's Problems, we respectfully refer you to Section B of the Submittal, wherein the Florida Migrant Health Project, funded primarily through the Federal Government, is expending about a million dollars per year in the Florida Migrant Health Project.

Additionally, under Section G, the extent of distribution of food under the Commodity Distribution Program indicates that food valued at $16,231,000 was distributed during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, to needy individuals, including migrants.

Additionally, over $12,000,000 in food was distributed through the school lunch program. The food stamp program is also used in several counties in Florida.

In the matter of migrant education, Section C relates to the expenditure of over \$7½ million in the Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program in 1969. Additionally, over \$700,000 was used in the Florida State Adult Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers' Educational Program in 1969.

In the area of sanitation, Florida has had a stringent Sanitary Code since the late 1940's. It was one of the first states in the Nation to adopt and enforce such a code. However, many times enforcement is possible only to the extent that other housing is available for the evicted tenants.

This is by no means a complete listing of all the activities directed toward migrants and I do apologize to any other interested groups who have been inadvertently omitted from inclusion in this report.

In any discussion of the Florida migrant problem, recognition must be given to the many dedicated individuals who have directed their efforts towards its solution. Although the total solution has not yet been attained it is not because of the lack of effort on their part.

This testimony, however, should not be interpreted as indicating that all that could be done or should be done has been done. On the contrary, there is much to be done.

I do not condone poor housing, poor working conditions, and stand ready to join with any individuals or groups who are genuinely interested in helping to find a solution to such problems.

I sincerely feel that housing, as depicted in the recent NBC television showing, "MIGRANT -- an NBC White Paper," is not typical of the housing provided by most agricultural employers in Florida. The majority of time spent on housing in the NBC film was spent on housing owned by private individuals and not by agricultural employers. United States Bureau of the Census figures for 1965 reveal that when migratory farm workers are at their home base, only 14 percent live on farm locations. Additionally, about 50 percent of migrant workers own or are buying their houses or other living quarters at their home base.

I feel that the extremely adverse publicity recently released primarily by the NBC film which insinuates that all migrant conditions in Florida are as typified in the film will actually stymie progress toward a solution of the migrant worker problem and will be detrimental to the worker himself.

For one thing, it will tend to alienate those individuals and groups who have, in fact, done much to improve the migrant conditions in Florida. In my estimation, it has also hurt in the continued efforts that have been made by various groups in attempting to assimilate the migrant into the communities rather than to separate him from the communities. It is polarizing the migrant situation and can only hurt the effort being made to assimilate the migrant into the community. Recent publicity is downgrading all migrants in the eyes of the general public and in the eyes of those migrants who have pride in what they are doing and who look upon themselves as performing a necessary function in our society, which, in fact, they do.

The lack of acknowledgment of the many and varied activities directed toward Florida migrants and the inaccuracies and bias shown in the NBC White Paper -- Migrant -- are a particular disappointment to me and to the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association.

I feel that NBC News -- in spite of the fact that Mr. Huntley had our documentation as early as May 27 -- produced a biased and unfair Television Special that only depicted the worst conditions surrounding some low-income individuals in Florida and that the film did much to downgrade the Florida migrant, Florida Agriculture and the State of Florida itself. In addition, NBC did not present any concrete suggestions for solutions to the migrant problem. Could this be because they were primarily interested in creating sensationalism -- not in finding solutions to the problem?

I feel that there was much "sneaky journalism" involved in the film which took the exceptional circumstance or incident -- many times out of context -- and implied that Florida was "rampant with conditions bordering on slavery and racism" and that no one in Florida was making any constructive effort to help the migrant. These accusations and innuendoes are just not so.

The film implied that all farm workers who pick crops are migrants -- which is untrue. Florida's agricultural work force includes many year-round residents of the State who work in agriculture, both on a full-time and on a part-time basis. According to the United States Department of Agriculture, the maximum total hired farm labor force in

Florida Agriculture in 1968 was 103,000, of which 35,000 to 40,000 are year-round hired workers. Of the balance, over half are seasonal workers who reside in Florida on a year-round basis and are not looking for year-round employment.

Mr. Huntley stated that there were 200,000 migrant men, women and children in Florida. Figures compiled by this Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor -- and as reflected in the 1968 Annual Report of this Subcommittee -- show 76,024 migrant workers and their nonworking dependents who travel with them.

Information received since the preparation of this statement reveals that the U. S. Department of Agriculture figures agree that the $891 average wage earned by migrants from farm work in the United States is true but is only a partial truth and used alone is misleading. What Mr. Huntley failed to reveal in his narration is that the average migrant also earned $841 in non-farm wages, or a total of $1,732. There is an additional figure which Mr. Huntley also failed to reveal. In the average migrant family there are 2.85 wage earners, so the average family wage would approximate $4,422 - farm and non-farm - in 1969. This average is, of course, for United States migrants not just those based in Florida. In Florida migrants have a longer work season than the average for the United States. Thus, Florida migrant wages should exceed the United States average.

Mr. Huntley stated, "... the migrants don't have the rights guaranteed the rest of us ..." This implies that rights guaranteed the rest of us include Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, age requirements in Child Labor Laws, and others. The rights that were stated in the film are not rights that all the people in the United States have today. The fact that a person is a migrant is not the determining factor as to whether he is entitled to these rights or not. The determining factor is whether the particular job that he is working in is covered under Federal or State Laws and Regulations. It is the type of work that a migrant elects to follow that determines whether he is covered or not. There are areas of employment outside of agriculture that are not covered by Unemployment Insurance or by the Fair Labor Standards Act or by Workmen's Compensation, or by other Federal or State Laws.

I feel that the NBC White Paper should have noted that many Florida employers voluntarily elect to cover their workers under some State Laws. For instance, workers in the citrus processing industry of Florida, including migrants who elect to work in this particular segment of the industry, are covered under the State Unemployment Compensation Laws by the companies involved.

It should also have been noted that, although agricultural workers are not specifically included under the Workmen's Compensation Laws of the State of Florida, a substantial portion -- estimated to be well over 70 percent of all agricultural workers in Florida -- are voluntarily covered by employers under Florida's Workmen's Compensation Law.

Under our State Workmen's Compensation Law, it is estimated that the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, who are Self-Insurors, alone cover between 20,000 and 30,000 domestic agricultural workers in the State of Florida at the request of cooperating members of the Association. This number is increasing each year and Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association is only one of several companies in this field.

Mr. Huntley made the statement that Florida's migrants "... are not protected by age requirements in Child Labor Laws." This statement is completely untrue.

You will note from Submittal E-8 that when school is in session minors under age 16 may not be employed in agriculture in Florida during school hours. All children in Florida, including migrants, are not only covered by our State Child Labor Law but also by the Child Labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. These laws are enforced on both the Federal and State levels.

Additionally, there are restrictions on the use of children below age 16 in hazardous occupations under both Federal and State Laws. Penalties are imposed under both the State and the Federal Laws for the use of child labor illegally.

Mr. Huntley stated, "while others' annual wages have gone up his (the migrant's) have stayed the same," compared to ten years ago. A statement such as this made by a national commentator without insuring that his information is a true picture of actual conditions is unbelievable.

United States Department of Agriculture figures reveal that the average hourly wage rate paid to hired workers in Florida has increased 62.8 percent since 1961. Florida Department of Commerce figures reveal that prevailing piece work rates for the major agricultural crops in Florida have increased over 100 percent since 1960. If the annual wage of migrant workers has not increased it is not because of the unavailability of work or that there has been no increase ineither the hourly or the piece rate paid workers in Florida agriculture.

Mr. Huntley continues in his narration by stating "for they (the migrants) are paid not by the hour but by the piece. They are paid for what they pick but not for the time it takes them to pick it." This is another completely untrue statement.

Payment by the piece does not obviate the employer's obligation to pay the minimum wage as stipulated under the Fair Labor Standards Act. A worker who is in a field or grove for eight hours and who is working under a piece rate of pay is paid by the piece rate or the statutory hourly rate, whichever is the higher. A quick check by NBC News with any office of the Wage & Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor could have confirmed this fact.

Mr. Huntley quotes the United States Department of Labor as estimating that if wages paid farm workers were doubled and all the increase passed on to the American housewife, she would pay just one or two more pennies for her produce. I am requesting the U. S. Department of Labor to verify their statistics in this respect as it relates to Florida Agriculture. At any rate, I would disagree with this conclusion. Because of the high percentage of fruits and vegetables grown for the fresh market in Florida, the percentage of total production costs attributable to labor costs is inordinately high compared to other areas of the country.

In the filmed interview with Mr. Vann, Director of the Pahokee Housing Authority, Mr. Vann made the statement that the housing program is not geared to the needs of migrants. Mr. Vann has subsequently stated that the definition of a migrant as used in the commentary and his definition of a migrant are not the same.

He has stated that most of the occupants of the Pahokee Housing Authority are former migrants. Most of them continue to work in jobs connected with agriculture. With the loose interpretation of a migrant used by Mr. Huntley and as evidenced by his figure of 200,000 in the State of Florida, the Housing Authorities are geared towards the type of individual to whom Mr. Huntley refers, many of whom are no longer migrants.

The statement is made in the film that 80 percent of migrant children never enter a high school classroom. Here, again, we feel that this is an untrue statement. It implies that 80 percent of the children included in the 200,000 so-called migrants in Florida do not go to high school. Bureau of Census figures for 1965 reveal that 50 percent of migratory workers attended at least some high school and 20 percent finished high school -- still not a good record but a far cry from the statement made in the film.

Mr. Huntley quoted the United States Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor's estimate that 800,000 children under age 16 work as hired farm hands across the Nation. We do not dispute this figure.

However, Mr. Huntley failed to point out that most of these children work in agriculture on a part-time basis for additional income primarily in northern states during the summer, when no school is in session. In Florida, we also use children during hours when school is not in session, many of whom work in agriculture for additional earnings and not because it is needed for the bare sustenance of their families. With the increasing difficulties that school-age children are experiencing in locating part-time jobs, particularly during the summer period, it would be unfortunate for this Subcommittee to consider an age restriction for use of children outside of school hours in agriculture.

Dr. Donald Stone, Director of the Collier County Migrant Education Program, stated that "the family, for example, when it works in the field is paid daily for what it does -- not at the end of the week." And he goes on to indicate that this has an influence on the child growing up with the idea that if he does something right he must be rewarded instantly. I agree with the latter part of Dr. Stone's statement. However, I would like to point out that the majority of farm workers in Florida are not paid on a daily basis. They are paid on a weekly basis, most of them by check with the proper deductions taken out for Social Security. All agricultural workers -- including migrants -- are covered by Social Security.

As I have stated previously, we do not condone poor housing and we are not here to attempt to justify any poor housing that may be found in Florida. However, except for one sequence of film, we do not recall that the NBC White Paper -- Migrant -- showed any housing actually owned and operated by agricultural producers in Florida. The housing shown was that of Public Housing Authorities or private owners who have no direct connection with agriculture.

Agriculture, therefore, except in the Public Housing Authorities, where agricultural leaders in various counties have been very active, would have little influence in helping correct poor housing situations where workers live in housing of their own choosing. United States Bureau of Census figures reveal that only 14 percent of migrants live in on-farm housing. Many of the growers who do provide on-farm accommodations in Florida provide free housing for their agricultural workers.

Florida's agricultural employers and the relevant agencies of government in Florida have done much -- particularly in the last ten years -- towards the betterment of living and working conditions for Florida's agricultural workers, including migrants.

I realize that in spite of the fact that a solution to the problem is being diligently sought, no lasting solution has yet been found. Any solution that does not consider both sides of the problem cannot be a lasting one.

Florida growers -- particularly those who are heavily inclined towards producing for the fresh fruit and vegetable market -- have been obtaining increased competition in marketing their product, from low-wage countries, particularly Mexico. Agricultural producers are greatly handicapped by this competition. Their abilities to pay increased costs of production -- including labor -- are being greatly impaired. This has been a long-standing and continuing concern of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association and its growers. This last season has been a particularly disastrous year to our vegetable growers, particularly our tomato growers.

As recently as May 22, Mr. Joffre C. David, Secretary-Treasurer of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, presented testimony to the House Committee on Ways and Means, regarding the problem of unlimited importation of fresh fruits and vegetables from foreign countries, particularly Mexico, in direct competition with Florida growers.

The film depicted corporate farming and "bigness" as contributing to the problem of the migrant. Others who have testified before this Subcommittee have attacked corporate farming. These are unfounded attacks.

I manage a corporate farm, which is made up of my mother and her three children.

A. Duda and Sons, Inc., is also a family corporate farm. It was a gross injustice to Andy Duda, Jr. to have been filmed and quoted out of context and represented to the viewing audience in a most unfair manner by Mr. Huntley.

Those of us who personally know the history of Andrew Duda, Sr., who brought his three sons from Czechoslovakia to work in the factories in Ohio as poor immigrants, deplore this injustice.

The Duda's saved their money to come to Florida to farm, only to go broke, whereupon they returned to the North and worked as hired agricultural workers themselves before returning to Florida the second time to farm.

From this meager beginning, they have built one of the most respected organizations in the Nation by always maintaining Christian and humanitarian principles in the conduct of their business. They are a fine example of how corporate farming, with efficient production practices, can provide benefits to both their employees and the consumer.

The question arises as to why does one attack or accuse "bigness" or corporate farming or attempt to discredit agriculture?

What are the attackers' motives?

Would it not be more productive to work with agriculture for the realization of solutions to the migrant problem rather than to attack the bigness of producers? -- Producers who now supply the consumer their food requirement for only 16½ percent of their disposable income compared to Communistic countries like Russia, where consumers spend over 50 percent of their disposable incomes for food.

I again express my appreciation for your invitation to appear before this Senate Subcommittee and volunteer my help in finding a solution to the migrant problem that would allow the agricultural producers of Florida to pay increased wages and benefits to its workers and continue to stay in business.

Respectfully submitted,

George H. Wedgworth

George H. Wedgworth

Dated July 24, 1970

INDEX OF ATTACHMENTS WITH COMMENTS

A. GENERAL

A–1–3 Recent Newspaper Clippings concerning NBC Telecast.

A–4 Copy of Letter of February 14, 1961, from The Honorable Spessard L. Holland, United States Senate, to the Chairman, Migrant Committee of Belle Glade Chamber of Commerce, Belle Glade, Florida, with attached copy of excerpt from the Congressional Record of February 6, 1961.

A–5 "Migrants"—Comments and Figures:

A–5–a Comments on "*Migrant Workers in Florida*".

A–5–b 1968 Report, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, page 70.

A–5–c 1969 Report, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, page 117.

A–5–d *FARM LABOR*, March 1969, page 7.

B. HEALTH

Florida Migrant Health Project—Sixth Annual Progress Report 1968–69 (Most recent known yearly funding: $996,404).

Comments: You will note a copy of the Florida State Housing Code included in the Health Project Report. Florida has had a State Housing Code since the late 1940's. It was one of the first States in the United States to have one. It continues to be the only State in the Southeastern States with an effective Housing Code. Florida has also been the originator of many of the health and education projects that other states are using for their migratory workers.

C. EDUCATION

C–1 *The Florida Directory of Programs and Services Benefitting Migratory Farm Children, October 1967* (Now in the process of being updated).

Comments: There are many more agencies now concerned with migratory children than in 1967.

C–2 *Annual Evaluation Report of Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program, Fiscal Year 1968.*

C–3 *Evaluation Report of the Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program 1969* (Most recent known yearly funding for Florida Migratory Child Compensatory Program: $7,277,880 plus $500,000 OEO funding).

C–4 New Areas of Activity not covered in the 1969 Evaluation Report of the Migratory Child Compensatory Program, which involves:

C–4–a *Early Childhood Educational Experiences for Migrant Children, Ages 3–6 Years.*

C–4–b *Pre-Kindergarten, Home and Family Life Program.*

C–5 Adult Migrant Education:

C–5–a Copy of Letter of May 25, 1970 from State Department of Education, Adult Migrant Project Coordinator, to FFVA Labor Division Manager.

C–5–b *Overview of the Florida State Adult Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers' Educational Program 1967–1970.*

(Most recent known yearly funding: $742,000).

D. HOUSING

D–1 Letter from Farmers Home Administration, regarding Activities in Florida by that Agency as they relate particularly to all types of agricultural workers, including migratory and/or seasonal, since 1963. ($14,220,655 for 1,970 families in last six years with most activity in last three years) This does not include loans to individual farm labor families, such as the Self-Help Housing Projects in Collier, Leo and Hendry Counties, which are discussed elsewhere.

D–2 Brief Recap of some of the Public Housing Authority Camps in Southern Florida. This also includes a statement on Self-Help Housing in Collier, Lee and Hendry Counties. (Funded by OEO in most recent year for $243,255 in administrative costs plus Farmers Home Administration funding of actual loans to individuals).

D–3 Activities of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in Florida as they relate particularly to all types of agricultural workers, including migratory and/or seasonal. (Includes activities of Federal Housing Authority). The Atlanta

Regional Office of HUD advises that through January 1, 1970, there have been 30,537 public housing units completed or under construction in Florida. As of that same date, there are reservations for an additional 6,842 units, contingent upon adequate funding.

D–3–a List of *Selected Programs of HUD* that are available to qualifying migrant and/or seasonal agricultural workers.

D–3–b Recapitulation of monies expended and number of housing units constructed under HUD for period through September 1969 and for the period after October 1, 1969. (Attached figures do not include rentals or other housing under programs for people 65 years of age and older.)

Comments: HUD officials have indicated that there is a tremendous increase in applications for construction of low-rental units and low-interest housing loans within the last year. The attached figures reflect this increase. For instance, in the period from the inception of the programs in the late 1930's through September 30, 1969, there were a total of 23,436 units constructed. Since October 1, 1969, there have been applications made for almost 50 percent of this number (11,269)—a period of only seven months. We are advised that approval will be conditioned primarily by the availability of Federal funds for this low-rent and low-interest housing. (Total monies expended: $308,083,000, most of which has been in the last three years).

D–4 Partial listing of grower-financed labor camps constructed within the last ten years. There would be no way to estimate monies expended.

D–5 Information submitted directly to Mr. Huntley by Mr. James W. Vann, Executive Director, Pahokee Housing Authority, in May 1970, including the following:

D–5–a Copy of Editorial of Everglades Observer, May 7, 1970.
D–5–b Copy of Letter to Mr. Gregory Favre of May 4, 1970.
D–5–c Copy of Letter to Mr. Chet Huntley of May 5, 1970.
D–5–d Copy of Letter to Mr. Chet Huntley of May 15, 1970.
D–5–e Copy of another Letter to Mr. Chet Huntley of May 15, 1970.

E. LABOR EMPLOYMENT, PLACEMENT, AND OTHER RELATED ACTIVITIES

E–1 *Listing of U.S. Department of Labor Programs Available to qualifying individuals in Florida, including migratory and/or seasonal workers.* (Current funding for most recent year available is $10,581,000.)

E–2 Florida Farm Labor Department Annual Reports 1968 and 1969:

E–2–a *1968 Florida Annual Farm Labor Report.*

E–2–b *Preliminary 1969 Report of Florida Farm Labor Department, Bureau of Employment Services, Division of Labor and Employment Opportunities, Department of Commerce, Tallahassee, Florida.*

Comments: The Florida Farm Labor Department was funded by the Federal Government for the most recent fiscal year in excess of $350,000 towards the activities included in the report. The services of the Farm Labor Department have been available to agricultural workers, including migratory and/or seasonal agriculutral workers, since the mid-1930's.

E–3 Copy of the *Florida Department of Commerce Farm Labor Department Plan of Service for Fiscal 1971*, indicating the various areas of activity relating to farm labor.

E–4 Wage and Employment Surveys:

E–4–a Copy of *Citrus Harvesting Survey for 1966–67.*
E–4–b Copy of *Citrus Harvesting Survey for 1967–68.*

Comments: Another survey was taken in 1968–69, but has not yet been printed. In 1968–69, wage figures indicate an average per-hour earnings of citrus pickers in excess of $2.50 per hour.

A similar wage survey covering corn harvesting is now in process and it is anticipated that more surveys will be conducted in other vegetable activities next season. These are submitted to show potential earning opportunities for workers.

E–5 Regulations complied with by volunteering Florida growers obtaining labor through the facilities of the Farm Labor Department of the Division of Labor and Employment Opportunities of the Department of Commerce, State of Florida. In seasonal 1969–70, approximately 6 to 8 thousand workers were brought in to Florida under these conditions. At least this number have been brought in each of the last five seasons.

E–5–a *"Criteria" Regulations of the U.S. Secretary of Labor.*
E–5–b *The Housing Regulations of the U.S. Department of Labor.*
E–5–c Sample Citrus Domestic Worker Contract.

E–6 Copy of FFVA Labor Bulletin No. 263 dated Sepetember 29, 1966, showing revisions in the *Fair Labor Standards Act* (wage and hour law).

Comments: Agricultural workers, including migrants, were first covered under the Fair Labor Standards Act as of February 1, 1967—another "meaningful change." You will note that the minimum as of February 1, 1969 is $1.30 per hour for agricultural workers, including migrants, and that, in most cases, packing house and canery workers, including migrant packing house and cannery workers, are paid at least $1.60 per hour under the Fair Labor Standards Act. In some cases, packing house and cannery workers are also covered under the overtime provisions of this Act.

E–7 Copy of *FFVA Labor Bulletin No. 290*, dated December 17, 1968, showing current coverage of migrant and agricultural workers under the Social Security Act.

Comments: In 1960, the employee and employer contribution was 2.75% each toward Social Security. This has increased to where it is now 4.8% on the part of each party and will increase to 5.2%, if the law is not changed on January 1, 1971, for each party. The benefits under the law have also increased for eligible individuals.

E–8 Copy of FFVA *Labor Bulletin No. 296,* dated April 16, 1969, indicating responsibilities of agricultural employers under both State and Federal Child Labor Laws.

Comments: These laws are being continually revised and becoming more restrictive. You will note that except for a few special exemptions, all minors under age 16 may *not* be employed in agriculture during school hours.

E–9 Copy of *FFVA Labor Bulletin No. 253,* dated January 11, 1966, indicating employer responsibilties under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, with subsequent changes.

Comments: There are other laws that relate to labor, such as the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, with which agricultural employers must comply, and which, in many cases, benefit agricultural workers, including migrants—Another indication of the "meaningful changes" that have taken place during the last decade in Florida agriculture.

E–10 Transportation:

E–10–a Copy of newspaper clipping dated April 21, 1968, from the Lakeland Ledger, showing the general provisions of a Florida State Statute covering the transportation of migrant workers within the State of Florida.

Comments: During the last decade, there has been a tremendous effort by agricultural interests in upgrading transportation of agricultural workers including migrants, to the fields and groves and within the State of Florida. A decade or so ago, the use of flat-bed trucks and truck-type equipment to haul labor was common throughout the State of Florida. Today, the use of this type of equipment has been reduced to the point where the great majority of workers transported to fields and groves are moved by the use of buses of all types. The financial outlay on the part of agricultural employers in purchasing both new and used buses during the last ten years is tremendous. Mr. Dan Zaffran, President of Superior Coach Company of Florida, located in Orlando, Florida, is the State Representative for Superior Coach Company in the sale of buses to interested individuals in Florida. He states that in addition to his company, there are five other bus companies selling new and used buses to agricultural employers in Florida. He states that, to his best knowledge, ten years ago there was an approximate expenditure of $200,000 per year by agricultural employers towards the purchase of new and used bus equipment for use with agricultural workers, including migrants. He also states that this has accelerated to where in the last calendar year, he would estimate that there has been approximately 350 new and used buses purchased by agricultural employers and that the approximate value would be in the neighborhood of $875,000 for the calendar year 1969.

E–10–b Copy of pamphlet put out by the Farm Labor Department of the U.S. Department of Labor, indicating the general regulations that must be followed by individuals who transport workers across state lines.

Comments: Here again, there has been a tremendous increase in the use of buses compared to ten years ago. In both movements of agricultural labor, including migrants, interstate and intrastate, there have been "meaningful changes."

F. SAFETY

F–1 Pesticides:

F–1–a Copy of *Florida House Bill 409*, which became law and took effect on January 1, 1970, indicating restrictions on pesticides. (This is the most recent specific bill on pesticides. The Florida Department of Agriculture has had rules and regulations on restrictions in the use of specific chemicals for several decades.)

F–1–b Copy of Letter from Florida Agricultural Research Institute dated December 19, 1969, which includes the rules and regulations promulgated by our Commissioner of Agriculture on the restrictions in the use of certain pesticides in the State of Florida. Also included are the regulations which relate to the transportation of such pesticides.

Citrus Safety Manual—A copy of the most current Citrus Safety Manual formulated and adopted by the Florida Citrus Safety Association, of which Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association is a member.

Comments: FFVA is now in the process of publishing a similar manual for activities in vegetables. An FFVA Safety Film on Sugar Cane Harvesting has been used for about ten years.

The insurance carriers of Workmen's Compensation coverage on agricultural workers in Florida have Safety Officers who circulate constantly among the participating employers. A substantial number of agricultural workers in Florida are voluntarily covered under Workmen's Compensation. Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association is a Self-Insuror on Workmen's Compensation for agricultural workers for its members and estimates that between 20 to 30 thousand agricultural workers are covered by our Self-Insurance program alone.

G. WELFARE

G–1 *Directory of Services to Migrants & Agricultural Workers* of State of Florida Department of Health & Rehabilitative Services.

G–2 *Thirty-Second Annual Report, State of Florida Department of Public Welfare, 1968–69.*

Comments: Since there are no longer any residency requirements, migrant workers and other agricultural workers are eligible for assistance under the Division of Family Services of the Florida State Department of Public Health & Rehabilitative Services. Of particular note is the surplus commodity distribution indicated on pages 18, 19 and 20 of the Thirty-Second Annual Report of the State Department of Public Welfare. The chart on page 19 indicates that over 125,000 persons in needy households were provided with food under the commodity distribution program during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969. This free food is valued at $16.231,608.76. In addition, children of migrant and other agricultural workers participate in the School Lunch Program. The value of the food provided through this program is $12,758,683.69.

On page 20, you will note a map indicating the Counties that participate in the surplus commodity program. In addition, Orange and Collier Counties participate in a food stamp program, which is available to migrant and agricultural workers. This program is new and is not indicated in the Annual Report.

H. OEO INVOLVEMENT

H–1 *An Action Plan for Migrant and Seasonal Farm Labor of Florida*, dated March 19, 1969, indicating some of the OEO funds and activities available for migratory workers in Florida at that time.

H–2 Listing of some of the OEO-funded Programs directed toward migrants now in existence in Florida. Indicated is the scope of individual projects and monies funded through OEO. (Total of most recent funded year is $2,991,566, not including programs listed elsewhere in attachments.)

I. INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER GROUPS

I–1 Statement concerning creation of Division of Migrant Labor within the Department of Community Affairs in the State of Florida.

I–2 Listing of some of the Migrant Ministries active in Florida (No attachments):

Redlands Christian Migrant Ministry, operating in Dade County with the 1969–70 funding of $11,861.38.

Polk County Christian Migrant Ministry, operating in Polk County with a 1969 calendar funding of $22,587.09.

Florida Christian Migrant Ministry, operating in various sections throughout the State with a funding for the year ending February 28, 1970 of $60,322.93 (The budget for the subsequent year is identical).

J. CLIPPINGS PRIMARILY SINCE AUGUST 1, 1969, SHOWING CONTINUATION OF MANY OF THE PROGRAMS CONCERNED WITH MIGRATORY AND/OR SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Comments: This, by no means, includes all of the clippings published in newspapers in Florida.

It is presented to give an idea of the publicity surrounding the availability of help for migrant and/or seasonal workers throughout the State of Florida in all of the different areas of activity at different times of the year.

J–1 General Clippings (in white).
J–2 Health (in yellow).
J–3 Education (in blue).
J–4 Housing (in pink).
J–5 OEO (mixed blue and pink).
J–6 Day Care (in green).

[Air mail—Registered (return receipt requested)]

FLORIDA FRUIT & VEGETABLE ASSOCIATION,
Orlando, Fla., May 27, 1970.

MR. CHET HUNTLEY,
NBC News,
New York City.

DEAR MR. HUNTLEY: Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association represents over 4500 producers of vegetables, sugar cane, citrus and tropical fruits in virtually all the major agricultural producing areas in the State of Florida. This Association, and many of its members, are concerned over the activities of NBC News, as indicated in newspaper clippings shown in the attached, marked "A–1" and "A–2," and in reports received from various growers, indicating conversations and activities of cameramen and individuals purportedly in the employ of NBC News.

You will note that in the March 31st newspaper item (Exhibit A–1) under a UPI dateline, it is indicated that NBC purposely plans a slanted "documentary" showing that conditions of migrant workers have remained unchanged during the last ten years (since the CBS film on "Harvest of Shame" was televised) rather than an unbiased documentary based on actual facts surrounding the migrant workers.

In the Atlanta Journal of April 25, Mr. Reuven Frank, President of NBC News, indicated that the proposed documentary will show ". . . in a one-hour television special that the plight of migrant workers remains virtually the same today." Mr. Frank goes on to state, "Although obvious remedies for improving living and working conditions and raising health standards were evident a decade ago, few of these remedies have been carried out."

Subsequent NBC News filming in Florida and reported conversations between various individuals in Florida and NBC News personnel have also indicated that the proposed TV show will be a completely biased "documentary." Please refer to correspondence shown in "D–5" for indications of this.

Again, in the Palm Beach Post of May 1, 1970 (A–3 attached), you are quoted as stating. "We all are. All levels of government are indifferent. Growers are indifferent, processors and consumers and organized labor are indifferent. . . ."

You also are quoted as agreeing with the Film Director, Martin Carr, wherein he states he has not been able to see any ". . . meaningful change . . ."

This Association vehemently maintains that there has been "meaningful change" with regard to all areas concerning migratory workers in Florida over the past several decades. For this purpose—and in the interest of informing you of the thought, energy, activity and financial means directed towards individuals who are considered to be migratory workers in Florida, the attached is presented for your consideration in the preparation and presentation of your "documentary." We hope you will seriously consider the factual information contained herein since you are quoted in the Palm Beach Post of May 1, 1970 as stating, "I would just love to get ahold of something demonstrating that real, meaningful changes are being made . . ."

You will note that the attached information is not all one-sided. There are statements by the people most directly involved in bringing about meaningful changes, indicating both the accomplishments and the needs concerning individuals who are considered migrants.

The attachments are for the most recent year available in the various areas of activity. Updated annual statements and reports are generally not available until six months to a year after the close of a season. Under Section "J. Clippings," we present more recent newspaper clippings indicating the continuation of many of the programs shown in the attachments.

Information contained herein does not include the meaningful changes brought about by the extensive effort and monies expended by growers themselves through their own resources, not only in the areas of employment and of housing, but also in other areas which are of benefit to agricultural workers generally and specifically to migratory and/or seasonal agricultural workers.

The attached is by no means all of the activity concerning migratory workers. I am sure there are many organizations and groups who are inadvertently being left out because of lack of time necessary to obtain a more complete picture of activity surrounding migratory workers.

You can only conclude from the material presented here that ". . . meaningful changes are being made" in relation to migratory workers in Florida. To conclude otherwise would be to purposely overlook all of the beneficial activity directed toward migrants by a great number of dedicated people in the State of Florida.

We respectfully request that you take these meaningful changes into serious consideration when you are preparing your "documentary." We feel you and NBC News would be doing migratory workers, agricultural employers and the people of the State of Florida a complete injustice if you fail to take into consideration all of the activities surrounding migratory individuals.

In 1961, the CBS production, "Harvest of Shame," was severely criticized in the Senate of the United States. For your information we are attaching as Exhibit A-4 a letter dated February 14, 1961, together with a copy of the Congressional Record of February 6, 1961, regarding the so-called documentary, "Harvest of Shame."

We are including with this letter an index with comments regarding the attachments.

We are now in the process of documenting by photographs "meaningful changes" that have taken place in Florida with regard to migrant and other agricultural workers. This documentation will also be submitted to you as soon as possible for your consideration.

This Association will be more than happy to take whatever time is necessary to arrange for you to observe and/or explore more fully any of the meaningful changes indicated in the attached.

Sincerely yours,

George F. Sorn,
Manager, Labor Division.

Mr. Reuven Frank, President, NBC News, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 10020.

Mr. Martin Carr, Producer & Director, NBC News, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City 10020.

The Honorable Spessard L. Holland, United States Senate, 420 Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

The Honorable Edward J. Gurney, United States Senate, Suite 133, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

The Honorable Paul G. Rogers, U.S. House of Representatives, 2417 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

The Honorable Louis Frey, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives, 1315 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

The Honorable Claude R. Kirk, Jr., The Governor of the State of Florida, The Capitol, Tallahassee, Florida 32304.

Mr. Cola B. Streetman, President, Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, Hogan & Sons Citrus Corporation, P.O. Box 880, Vero Beach, Fla. 32960.

Mr. Joffre C. David, Secretary-Treasurer and General Manager, Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association, Headquarters Office, P.O. Box 20155, Orlando, Florida 32814.

[From South Dade News-Leader, Homestead, Fla., Mar. 31, 1970]

TELEVISION IN REVIEW—MIGRANTS WILL BE FEATURED

(By Rick Dubrow)

Hollywood (UPI)—It is a curious period for network television documentaries which are being buffeted by diverse winds of change.

Outwardly, it might seem rather safe to say that most of today's documentaries are more in the nature of features—in short, on the safe side journalistically.

There can be little doubt that there certainly has been no steady stream of truly hard-nosed documentaries in the tradition of Edward R. Murrow.

In addition—and not always admirably—feature documentaries like the National Geographic specials keynote the entry of outside entertainment-minded documentary-makers in an even larger way than before.

On the plus side, there nature documentaries have often been done.

After all, we have had our supply of hard-nosed documentaries about abortion, and all those programs that worked most of the obvious hard-core subjects into the ground.

However, one must also consider the changing times. Now that most of the obvious subjects are known to young persons, attitude becomes more important. Thus the new documentaries are more and more concerned with life-styles and film technique as impact, and this is a legitimate reflection of the period we live in.

Ironically, the ecology movement is almost the perfect video subject in this period of change. It is a subject about which the networks can be positive about America and offend no one because everyone wants to improve the environment. Also, it concerns life-styles and is a matter for the passions of young and old. It is about nature, and one can be safely hard-nosed.

Still, one yearns for a constant supply of tough documentaries. And it is refreshing to learn that NBC TV plans to followup to Murrow's decade-old, classic video expose "Harvest of Shame," about the plight of migrant workers—and how their conditions are virtually unchanged. Chet Huntley will be the reporter, and Martin Carr, who guided the noteworthy 1968 documentary "Hunger in America," will be the producer and director.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Apr. 25, 1970]

NBC TO SHOW PLIGHT OF MIGRANT LABOR

New York—Ten years ago CBS News presented "Harvest of Shame," an award-winning television special examining the conditions of poverty, disease and servitude under which migrant workers were forced to live in the United States.

This program, reported by the late Edward R. Murrow, as "one of the finest documentaries ever produced for television," according to Reuven Frank, president of NBC News. It won many awards: it stimulated many calls for action.

NBC News will show—in a one-hour television special—that the plight of migrant workers remains virtually the same today.

Although obvious remedies for improving living and working conditions and raising health standards were evident a decade ago, few of these remedies have been carried out," Frank said.

The NBC News special will be colorcast in June. Correspondent Chet Huntley will be the reporter. The program will be produced and directed by Martin Carr, winner of numerous awards for television documentaries.

Migrant workers still are living in substandard housing and are being treated in many places not as well as many slaves were treated in the 19th century, Carr said.

Carr's "Hunger in America," which was broadcast on CBS–TV on May 21, 1968, won an Emmy Award, a George Foster Peabody Award, Critics' Consensus honors, and a Writers Guild of America Award. His "Gaugin in Tahiti" the previous year received two Emmy Awards.

[From the Palm Beach Post, May 1, 1970]

CHET HUNTLEY: A COMMENTARY ON THE MIGRANTS

NBC'S CHET HUNTLEY CHATS WITH A DAVIS QUARTERS RESIDENT WHILE THE CAMERA CREW SETS UP

(By Kent Pollock)

Chet Huntley came to town yesterday to begin his final television crusade.

The NBC news commentator wants to help migrant farmworkers find a way to live like other Americans.

So he has devoted the last crusade of his celebrated career to the depressing problem with an hour-long documentary film.

Huntley toured one dilapidated shack after another, his head hung low and shaking, "Oh boy. Oh my. Oh boy," he murmured with empathy.

He began his day in Palm Beach where he filmed the affluence of Palm Beach County, then traveled 45 miles west to Belle Glade where he found the migrants.

There he saw poverty, filth, malnutrition, despair—all the ingredients of the migrant's futile life.

His first stop was at Everglades Camp, a migrant housing center operated by the Palhokee Housing Authority.

Decayed structures leaned to one side and children romped in rubbish as Huntley began his narration.

"Lack of decent housing is one of the biggest problems facing the migrants in Florida. Everglades Camp * * * was built over 30 years ago as temporary housing for farmworkers.

"In 1962—along with two other camps operated by a public housing authority—it was condemned * * * but today, eight years later, they are still open."

Huntley glanced to his rear in dismay.

"And they are home to 475 families who have nowhere else to go."

Even the film crew was taken back by Huntley's forceful delivery.

And then it was time for lunch.

Huntley leaned against a dusty rental, constantly sucking his sweet-smelling pipe. He talked about migrants and other topics.

"No one group is really responsible for this," he said with a nod towards the ramshackle dwellings.

"We all are. All levels of government are indifferent. Growers are indifferent, processors and consumers and organized labor are indifferent. That just about covers all of us, doesn't it?"

He sipped on a soft drink and ate a roast beef sandwich.

What does Chet Huntley want to accomplish with his final documentary?

"If we can only get all those groups of people who are now indifferent to the problem to act, we will have accomplished something."

Will that happen?

"I don't know. I hope so. Agriculture is getting to be bigger and bigger business. Maybe there is some hope for these bigger corporations being sensitive to pressures * * * maybe there is hope."

The NBC caravan proceeded to Armstrong Quarters in Pahokee where Huntley investigated a report that the mother of eight children had been asked to leave for cooperating with an NBC crew.

"They asked me if I was the woman who told the television my house was raggedy. When I said I was, they said I'd have to leave," Mrs. Annie Bell Brown said.

Huntley said the woman would be looked after. A Rural Legal Service representative nearby said he would help find Mrs. Brown a residence if she had to move.

Huntley saw Mrs. Brown's two-room dwelling where eight people sleep. He saw the faucet outside where she draws her water, and the stove she must heat water on for bathing.

Huntley saw the kerosene lantern Mrs. Brown uses to light her bedroom. The single light socket there doesn't work.

For this, she pays $42.50 per month plus gas and electricity.

Huntley poked his finger through Mrs. Brown's wall. It took little effort. He picked one of many spots where the sunlight filtered through.

"And it gets cold here during winter, doesn't it?" he asked her.

"Yes sir, it sure does."

Huntley was noticeably moved by Mrs. Brown's plight. He left without another word.

"I hope you can help me," Mrs. Brown said.

The next stop was at Davis' Quarters between Belle Glade and Pahokee. It was here that the NBC crew was threatened a week ago with a shotgun.

Crewmembers said they were told Davis' Quarters was private property and were asked to leave.

Huntley talked with residents and filmed a walk through the U-shaped housing center. He chatted with Boone Darden, a Florida Rural Legal Services investigator.

"Do you believe officials keep this atmosphere going deliberately and with premeditation to maintain a guaranteed work force year after year?" he asked.

"Yes sir. I believe so,'" Darden answered.

With that, Huntley shook his head and walked over to a group of children.

"He's going to be a good football player, look at those muscles on him . . . can you give me your hand for a handshake young man?"

He got back inside his car and thought for a moment.

Was Huntley surprised at what he had seen?

"No. I guess I wasn't surprised. This is about the same as migrant workers in California."

He thought about what he had said, then spoke again.

"I guess what I mean is that you're always surprised to see these things continue and hang on from year to year. That's distressing."

Huntley was finished for the day. He expressed concern his film might be criticized by Florida residents claiming he looked only at one side of the problem.

"I would just love to get ahold of something demonstrating that real, meaningful changes are being made. If they are, people certainly aren't willing to talk about it."

Film director Martin Carr said he had spoken with several farmers in the area, including a representative of A. Duda and Sons, a major Belle Glade grower.

He said people haven't been able to show him meaningful change.

Huntley agreed.

"My friend Edward R. Murrow told me of these problems 10 years ago. We came here with no preconceived ideas, but the truth is that not very much has been done since then."

Is it meaningful that this will be Huntley's last television special?

"I think so. I certainly can't think of a better one or a more needed crusade."

Chet Huntley hopes he will be successful. He'd like to retire without people like Mrs. Brown on his conscience.

[Excerpts from the Congressional Record, 1961]

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,
February 14, 1961.

MR. URBAN S. FELSING,
Chairman, Migrant Committee of Belle Glade, Chamber of Commerce, Belle Glade, Fla.

DEAR MR. FELSING: It was very kind of your Committee to wire me as you did with regard to my remarks on the Senate Floor on the so-called documentary, "Harvest of Shame", a copy of which is enclosed.

With the help of many Belle Glade residents and others, I studied this program carefully and found that the script and film, as it pertained to Florida, was grossly slanted and inaccurate. The producers deleted anything which might tell the story of the very fine progress which has been made in our state in recent years in this field. I believe the American public has a right to expect a higher standard of performance from those who hold and use a valuable franchise given by all the American people.

Thanking you for your support in my position and with kind regards, I remain

Yours faithfully,

SPESSARD L. HOLLAND.

Enclosure.

TELECAST "HARVEST OF SHAME" UNFAIR TO FLORIDA AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, on November 25, 1960, the Columbia Broadcasting System televised a program entitled "Harvest of Shame," which related to the migratory agricultural workers and their families. The transcript of this telecast was placed in the Congressional Record of January 23, 1961, by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire]. It appears at pages 1107 through 1111. The film covering the telecast was replayed, with sound, in the auditorium of the New Senate Office Building on Monday, January 30, 1961.

This telecast is grossly unfair to both migrant agricultural workers and their employers. It presents migrant workers in a highly unfavorable light, and their employers as hardhearted exploiters of their labor. It is unfair not only to Florida agricultural employers and employees but also to those of other States in which agricultural migrants work. This includes the eastern seaboard from Florida north through New Jersey and New York, the Pacific coastal States of California, Oregon, and Washington, and other States.

Following the program, the Philip Morris Cigarette Co., which sponsored it, sent two of its excutives, Robert W. Norris and James C. Bowling, to the Belle Glade, Fla., area to investigate the facts.

Because Florida was placed in the peculiarly invidious position of introducing the telecast at great length and of terminating the telecast at great length, these gentlemen naturally came to the vegetable-producing part of Florida to make their investigation for the Philip Morris Co.

Mr. Bowling stated that the network would not permit the sponsors to review the program in advance and that no one in the firm had any idea of its contents until the broadcast. Both Mr. Norris and Mr. Bowling said they were convinced, after visiting Florida areas where migrant labor was utilized, that the show was unfair; that it does not paint an accurate picture; and that they found in Florida "a dedicated people who have worked for years to improve the life of the migrants." At this point, Mr. President, I shall read into the RECORD an excerpt from a Tampa Tribune article, which is entitled "Cigarette Firm Bought Documentary Sight Unseen," and which was written by Mr. Sam Mase, a highly reputable staff writer for the Tribune:

"CRITICISM OF CBS FOR MIGRANT LABOR FILM IS JUSTIFIED, SAYS SPONSOR OF SHOW

(By Sam Mase)

"Two top executives of Philip Morris, Inc., told the Tribune yesterday Floridians were justified in denouncing Columbia Broadcasting Co. for its production of "Harvest of Shame," a Philip Morris-sponsored television documentary on the problems of migrant farm laborers.

"When citizens of Florida charged the TV show presented a distorted scene of migrant conditions in Florida, Joseph F. Cullmann III sent the two executives here to investigate conditions and report back to him.

"They are: Robert W. Norris, director of personnel and community relations for the firm, and James C. Bowling, director of public relations.

"CBS SHOW UNFAIR

"Both men said they were convinced after visiting areas in the State where migrant labor is utilized that the CBS show was unfair to Florida because it failed to depict the great progress this State has made in behalf of migrants.

"Norris and Bowling commended the Tribune for presenting an accurate account of the migrant situation in order to offset the adverse impression created by the television program.

"Bowling said his firm bought the 'Harvest of Shame' show in good faith that it would be an outstanding public service based on a true picture (good or bad) of the migrant story.

"The public relations man said CBS would not permit sponsors to review its 'CBS Reports' series in advance.

"Speaking of the impression of Florida the documentary conveyed to a nationwide audience. Bowling said 'the picture is not as black as portrayed.'

"DEDICATED PEOPLE

"He said that on the contrary, he and Norris found in Florida 'a dedicated people who have worked for years to improve life of the migrants.'

"The men noted that the film did not present efforts and progress of dedicated people who worked to improve conditions.

" 'We were impressed with the progress and feel it should have been shown (on the program),' Norris said."

Mr. President, the progress which Florida has made and is making in the field of migrant labor is shown by the following statements by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Migrant Labor, the distinguished junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams].

Mr. President, this morning I notified the office of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] that I intended to make this speech at this time, and I also notified the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire] and the distinguished Senator from Montana [Mr. Metcalf], because they had had some part in the discussion of the telecast.

I was advised that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] was snowbound somewhere and could not be here. I do not know why the other two Senators are not present on the floor.

The first statement by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Williams] was made at a hearing in Fresno, Calif., on July 8, 1960, and is as follows:

I might say that Florida is probably the most enlightened State we have seen in the total picture of migrant State problems.

Again, Senator Williams of New Jersey said in an address in Boston on May 21, 1960:

"In Florida, to even a greater degree that we had found in many other States, we found many people who do not believe in limiting their vision. They are concerned. They want to know what was happening in that shack seen from the highway. They are remembering the forgotten people. They believe that 'any person can change,' and they are working to bring about that change."

In his extension of remarks reported at page A4548 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 27, 1960, Senator Williams of New Jersey said:

Mr. President, the migrant workers in the United States today often experiences hardship, danger, and exclusion as he travels from one State to another, from one crop to another, each year. In many parts of the Nation, however, he also experiences something more—community concern about the problems which face him and members of his family.

"The Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor spent 3 days in southern Florida last week and there we saw evidence of this community concern in abundance."

At this point, Mr. President, I should like to present some of the specific misrepresentations in the "Harvest of Shame" program which are so unfair to both migrant workers and their employers. Quotations are from the script, which I have personally read in full, and which already appears in the Congressional Record, where it was inserted by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Proxmire].

"MISREPRESENTATION NO. 1

"Approximately 1 out of every 500 children whose parents are still migrant laborers finishes grade school. Approximately, 1 of every 5,000 ever finishes high school. And there is no case upon the record of the child of a migrant laborer ever receiving a college diploma."

THE FACTS

If the producers had wanted to exercise any reasonable degree of care to present the truth, they could have easily found by questioning school authorities in Palm Beach County that there are a number of children of migrants in that one county alone who are college graduates. They would have learned of the following: Ollice Davis, coach and teacher at East Lake High School in Pahokee; Gerald Berk and Earlene King Hudson, teachers at Lake Shore High School in Belle Glade; Eugene Lincoln, teacher at Lincoln High School in Riviera Beach—his wife, Lavena Lincoln is a registered nurse at a West Palm Beach hospital—Willie Pifren, band instructor for several schools in the Lake Okeechobee area; Delois White, eacher at Okeechobee Elementary School; Helen Verence, Doris Harrell, and Julia Johnson, teachers at East Lake Elementary School in Pahokee; and Estelle Pifron, teacher at East Lake High School.

I am advised that all these college graduates were children of migrants or were migrants themselves, through high school, and that Eugene Lincoln, Gerald Berk, and Earlene King Hudson were migrant agricultural workers even during most or all of their college careers, joining the migrant stream during the summer months and returning to college in the fall.

Another prominent college graduate, who does not live in Florida, is the nationally known missionary, Mrs. Billie Davis, who is married to a minister and now lives in California.

These people do not fit into the film's insulting inference that migrant workers are so exploited that they cannot and do not make educational progress. These are well educated and useful citizens who are a credit to their State and Nation and to the type of workers from which they came.

With reference to the percentage of migrants who graduate from high school, the records at Lake Shore High School in Belle Glade show that over 30 percent of the graduates during the last 5 years have been migrant children; of that number over 20 percent have attended college or have graduated. To be specific the number of migrant children so graduating was 65 and the number of such graduates who have attended college is 15.

Mr. President, I am indebted to Mrs. Ruth S. Wedgworth, of Belle Glade, Fla., for her assistance in checking and rechecking these facts—which I have read into the RECORD as facts—on the educational progress of migrant workers. She is a well-educated, longtime resident of the Belle Glade area; and for a number of years she has been one of the leaders in the economic, cultural, and governmental progress of the area.

I may say that Mrs. Wedgworth is the widow of a gentleman, who a few years ago, was a very distinguished member of the experiment station staff at Belle Glade. Mrs. Wedgworth has led in all kinds of worthwhile, progessive civic activities in her area and in her State.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 2

I quote from the telecast:

"People have been killed purely because there is no interstate standard with regard to safety."

The reference was to travel by migrant workers.

The facts are as follows: A statute enacted in 1956 authorized the ICC to regulate interstate transportation of workers by motor vehicle. Pursuant thereto, the ICC issued comprehensive regulations, which have been in effect for several years.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 3

Again I quote from the text of the transcript and of the motion picture:

"SECOND HAWKER. Over here—70 cents a day. We're paying today.

"MURROW. The hawkers are chanting the going piece rate at the various fields. This is the way the humans who harvest the food for the best fed people in the world get hired."

The facts are these: This is not the way most of such people are hired. Less than 50 percent of the migrants engaged in harvest farm work are hired through this procedure known as day haul.

This is sometimes a necessary means of employing workers, where a farmer needs them only a few days. The U.S. Employment Service, cooperating with State employment services, has promoted this means of employing farm labor in many areas, including the State of Florida.

In fact, the Department of Labor requires farmers to cooperate in day haul programs, wherever they are feasible, as a condition of eligibility for interstate recruitment of domestic workers and/or the employment of Mexican Nationals. If this is a "slave" labor practice, it is one that has been promoted for many years by the U.S. Department of Labor.

The network denies that there was any inference that the "70 cents a day"—and I have quoted those words from the telecast—means that this is the total earnings of a worker for a day's work. It is true that the commentator did say "The hawkers are chanting the going piece rate at the various fields." However, there would be few viewers who would understand the meaning of the term "piece rate." All would understand the expression "70 cents a day" to mean that is the total earnings of a worker for a day's work.

The inference that a dollar or less a day is the usual income of such workers is further discussed in connection with the next misrepresentation.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 4

"MR. LOWE. (Interviewer): How much did you earn?

"MRS. KING. A dollar."

The inference was that Mrs. King earned $1 for picking beans from 6 a.m. to 3:30 or 4 p.m.

The facts are these: The prevailing base—minimum—rate for picking beans in the area is 60 cents a hamper. Most workers have little difficulty picking two hampers or more an hour. Good bean pickers can pick 20 bushels per day, for which they are paid 60 to 75 cents, and sometimes as high as 90 cents per bushel. If Mrs. King earned only a dollar for a day's work, she either was not working very hard or she was in a very unusual situation. Perhaps she felt that in view of her husband's employment and income—and in a moment I shall refer to that—there was no real necessity of pressing for a substantial income that day.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 5

"Mr. Lowe. How many children do you have?

"Mrs. King. Fourteen."

The inference was that Mrs. King must support 14 children on a dollar a day.

The facts are these: Mrs. King has seven children living and seven who are dead, two having been stillborn. Lest it be alleged that these deceased children were the victims of inadequate medical care, due to the financial plight of this family, the record shows—and I quote from the public record—that in 1958, the county welfare agency in West Palm Beach paid $943.80 to St. Mary's Hospital for the care of Katherine King, still living; and, additionally, over $1,000 in hospital and medical bills has been written off by the local hospital and doctors at Belle Glade, in connection with medical treatment afforded the King family over the last several years.

Mr. President, this is a peculiarly interesting addition to the facts. Mrs. King's husband, Will King, has been a permanent seasonal employee at a sugar refinery near Belle Glade since 1956, when he started at $66 a week. He works there 4 or 5 months each year, and now receives a salary of $83.50 per week. His employer provides him life insurance, workman's compensation coverage, and Blue Cross-Blue Shield coverage, free of charge.

By deliberately leaving out these facts, Mr. President, the telecast created a wrong impression.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 6

Here the reference is to Florida. This part of the program occurred toward its end:

"Murrow. * * * the Sunshine State welcomes them back: Homestead, Immokalee, Pahokee, Belle Glade and hundreds of other communities. This is home. New housing is available. The rent, $15 per room, per week."

The facts are these: An exhaustive survey by those who are directly concerned in the Homestead, Immokalee, Pahokee and Bell Glade area, indicates that ordinary housing for migrants rents for a maximum of $7 per week for a one-room apartment, and $12.50 paid for apartments consisting of living room, bedroom, kitchen, and bath. In the latter instance, the living room may also be used for sleeping purposes. There may be rare instances of housing for migrants renting as high as $15 per room per week. If so, those who conducted the survey were unable to find it. If it does, in fact, exist, it is highly unusual—not the usual case, as indicated by the script. When it is considered that this housing is subjected to terrific abuse at the hands of the tenants, who occupy it seasonally for brief periods, the cost of housing is considered to be relatively low.

Incidentally, Mr. President—and the film was silent on this point—Florida has a State law regulating the safety and sanitation of migrant labor camps. Under it, the State board of health prescribes minimum standards relating to construction, sanitary conditions, light, air, safety, protection from fire hazards, equipment, maintenance and operations of camps, and other matters necessary to protect the life and health of occupants. Based upon these standards, the board of health licenses migrant labor camps; and it has the authority to revoke licenses of those who do not meet these standards.

MISREPRESENTATION NO. 7

"Lowe. Mrs. Doby, wouldn't you ever care to have a house of your own?

"Mrs. Doby. I'd like to have a house that—we plan to buy one if we could ever get enough to pay down on one, we'd buy one.

"Lowe. Do you think this will ever happen?

"Mrs. Doby. Well, it don't seem like it."

Mr. President, let us see what the facts are.

After this program, Harvey Poole, a Belle Glade Negro leader, compiled a list of migrants who, since 1952, have moved out of migratory-housing quarters into homes of their own in the Belle Glade area alone. He reports that there are approximately 100 families on his list. This contradicts the inference in the film that there is almost no hope for migrants ever to own homes of their own.

I would be trespassing upon the Senate's time, Mr. President, if I should cite in detail other specific false impressions which are created by the CBS telecast. I believe the examples I have given are sufficient to show that the producers of this telecast were, to put it mildly, careless of the truth. A number of individuals were interviewed and filmed under the impression that their comments were to be included in the program. They subsequently found that the interviews and films which did not support the impression the producers wished to create were deleted. The housing shown was the worst the producers could possibly find. There was no balancing presentation of relatively good housing provided farmworkers in many areas. Everything supporting the view desired by the producers was included; everything not supporting it was excluded.

The film was propaganda, pure and simple.

As a result, the brighter side of the migrant labor story failed to emerge. The production excluded everything which might tell the story of the progress which has been made in recent years in this field: the improvement in housing, the enactment of State legislation of various kinds—not only in our own State, but in other States—the efforts of local authorities, the upward trend in farm wage rates, and the progress in education. Regarding education of migrants, the report of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor says:

"There is a definite trend, particularly since 1954, of increased and sustained interest on the part of State departments of education, local school districts, and communities, and private organizations to provide for the educational needs of migrants."

Mr. President, I am willing to give the producers the benefit of the doubt as to their motives in presenting this so-called documentary. Perhaps they wanted to contribute to the improvement of a situation which needs continual improvement. However, good motives are no excuse for playing fast and loose with the truth, which is what was done. Slanted documentary films are fully as unethical as rigged quiz shows. Perhaps they are more dangerous to a free society, since they present a false picture as a basis for shaping public opinion and the laws resulting therefrom.

I have no evidence, Mr. President, that the executives of the CBS network which telecast this program had knowledge of its unfairness before its original presentation. However, when they continue to actively cooperate in promoting the showing of this film, as they did in the presentation last Monday—January 30—at the New Senate Office Building Auditorium, they make it impossible for me to feel that they are proceeding with the caution and fair play which the American public has a right to expect from those who hold and use a valuable franchise given by all the American people.

SUGAR CANE GROWERS COOPERATIVE OF FLORIDA,
Belle Glade, Fla., August 7, 1970.

The Hon. WALTER F. MONDALE,
Senator, State of Minnesota,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MONDALE: After reading the testimony of Mr. James M. Pierce before your committee hearings on July 24, 1970, I feel it necessary to respond and ask that this letter be made a part of the record of the hearings held July 24, 1970 by your sub-committee on migratory labor.

Mr. Pierce's statement was designed solely to attempt to discredit my testimony, which you invited me to give, by making a personal attack on my family operation and myself even though I was speaking for the members of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Association. Even if his statement was based upon fact, which it was not, I would consider this an unfair maneuver and one in which I was surprised to see your participation.

The statement of Mr. Pierce was so maliciously designed with grossly untrue charges and statements that I will not resort here to give it credibility by dignifying them with a reply.

Sincerely,

GEORGE H. WEDGWORTH, *President.*

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., September 22, 1970.

Mr. GEORGE H. WEDGWORTH,
President, Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative of Florida,
Belle Glade, Fla.

DEAR MR. WEDGWORTH: I am in receipt of your letter of August 7, 1970, and pursuant to your request, it will be printed in the hearing record at the appropriate place.

I regret that you took the testimony of Mr. James M. Pierce, Executive Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, as an "unfair maneuver" on my part, but in any event, I assure you that there was no such element in the Subcommittee having him as a witness. As Chairman of this Subcommittee, I have taken pride in the open invitation to submit statements for the record that we have extended to all persons interested in finding solutions to the migrant and seasonal farmworker problem. Furthermore, I have not in the past censored, nor do I intend to do so in the future, statements in advance of a hearing. My concern is solely to learn the truth about the extent of the farmworker problem, and to build a record upon which both legislative and administrative reforms, many of which I'm sure you would agree are necessary, can be made.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

WALTER F. MONDALE,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Migratory Labor.

Senator MONDALE. Our next witness is Mr. Martin Carr, NBC producer of "Migrant—An NBC White Paper." Mr. Carr, will you please come forward?

We are pleased to have Mr. Martin Carr, who is the producer of the documentary "Migrant—An NBC White Paper", which has been cited several times in these hearings. Mr. Carr and his crew produced the film under hazardous conditions. I think all of us have seen that documentary.

Also I think I am correct, Mr. Carr, in saying that you produced the "Hunger in America" documentary shown 2 years ago.

STATEMENT OF MARTIN CARR, PRODUCER, NATIONAL BROADCASTING CO., PRODUCER OF THE DOCUMENTARY "MIGRANT—AN NBC WHITE PAPER," NBC, NEW YORK

Mr. CARR. That is right, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Do I understand you were also involved earlier in "Harvest of Shame?"

Mr. CARR. No; I was not.

Senator MONDALE. I understand that you do not have a prepared statement. Are there any opening comments you would like to make? After your comments, I would like to ask a few questions.

Mr. CARR. In lieu of a prepared statement, Senator, I would like to say that I hope the documentary, "Migrant—An NBC White Paper" is a sufficient statement and that it can stand on its own. I would like to take this opportunity to give you the transcript of the entire program for the record.

Senator MONDALE. Without objection, it will appear at this point in the record.

(The information referred to follows:)

MIGRANT—AN NBC WHITE PAPER

An NBC White Paper with NBC news correspondent Chet Huntley

Produced and directed by Martin Carr. Written by Marilyn Nissenson and Martin Carr. Correspondent Chet Huntley. Associate producer Marilyn Nissenson. Film editors Darold Murray and Mary Ann Martin. Cameraman Richard Norling. Unit manager Paul Shienfeld. Production coordinator Peter Freedberger. Sound Al Hoagland.

We wish to express our appreciation to CBS News for a segment of CBS reports: Harvest of Shame, Produced by David Lowe, Narrated by Edward R. Murrow.

Note: As used herein, VO means Voice Over while film is shown there is background sound, and OC means On Camera while sound is present.

Migrant: An NBC White Paper. Copyright c The National Broadcasting Co., 1970. All rights reserved.

TEASE

Huntley (VO) (parade footage)

Parades are as popular down on the farm as they are in the big city. Farmers, food packers, politicians and leading citizens are celebrating the harvest—the gathering of the spring crop in the heart of Florida's farmland. Even though many farmers consider this year a disaster, they have shared in a harvest that brings Florida agriculture an income of over 1.4 billion dollars each year. For the farm workers who pick the crops—the migrants—watching the parade from the sidelines, there is little to celebrate.

Migrant #1 (OC) (first of sequence)

But the poor people like us, we don't—we just don't have a chance. We don't get good jobs, we have to pick fruit and different stuff; we have to take what we can get.

Migrant #2 (OC)

The only way you can get a job is you have to owe somebody. And if they got anything for you to do, you could work like that 'til you pay them back. And I need something right now.

Migrant #3 (OC)

I wear a pair of shoes for about six months and do without shoes in order for the kids to have something to wear to school. And that's only right.

K. D. Eatmon (OC)

American people is—become so used to easy living that they don't want to work anymore.

Huntley (VO) (return for parade)

Wth an average annual income of $891, the migrants can hardly afford the basic necessities of life taken for granted by their fellow Americans. In the richest country in the world, the parade passes them by.

Vann (OC) (second SOF sequence)

They are staying here for longer periods of time because the agricultural season has stretched out. They're here for eight, no, nine months, some of them.

Jackson Bowers (OC)

We was up in Texas, and we lived real good up there. We made good money till we came down here and we 'bout starved to death here in Florida.

Mrs. Garza (OC)

Migrant work, it just isn't worth it. Some people just come over and over and over, year after year. I don't know why. I wish I could go back to Texas. I'll never come back here to Florida. Just—there is no job. It is not worth it.

Sheriff Hendry (OC)

Practically all of them are the happiest people I've ever seen. They really enjoy what they're doing. They go from place to place and from crop to crop and they really enjoy it.

Workers walking away through orange grove (MOS)

ACT I

Huntley (OC) (Huntley open)

The fruit and vegetables that every American eats are gathered by about 2½ million people—farm workers—many of them migrant laborers who follow the crops from state to state. Florida, the Sunshine State, is the nation's leading supplier of citrus, its second largest source of fresh vegetables. Florida's farm industry depends on a migrant population of 200,000 men, women and children. Because of its eight month picking season, many of them choose to remain in Florida year 'round, trying to put down roots, trying to live like other Americans.

But they do not have the rights guaranteed the rest of us. In Florida and many other states, migrants are not eligible for unemployment insurance; they are not guaranteed workmen's compensation; they are not protected by age requirement in child labor laws; they are excluded from the protection given other workers in their attempts to organize or strike; and, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, they work for an annual wage lower than that of any other income group in the country. And because of residency requirements, they are usually not qualified to vote. Though many of them no longer travel, they're still called migrants. Despite some changes effected by federal and state agencies and local organizations, the migrants live in poverty and despair. This report examines their lives today—just ten years after Edward R. Murrow first brought the migrant to the attention of the nation on the CBS Reports Documentary, Harvest of Shame.

Murrow (OC) (Harvest of Shame Footage)

These are the forgotten people, the under-protected; the under-educated; the under-clothed; the underfed.

Murrow (VO) (Harvest of Shame Belle Glade Footage)

This is Belle Glade, Florida. This is a shape-up for migrant workers. One farmer looked at this and said, "We used to own our slaves, now we just rent them."

Huntley (VO) (Belle Glade Today)

This is Belle Glade, Florida today. Ten years after HARVEST OF SHAME, farm workers still gather each morning looking for a day's work in the fields. For a migrant, jobs are not always easy to find. Producer Martin Carr talked with migrants during the height of the picking season this past spring, when jobs seemed particularly scarce.

Carr (Martin Carr Interviews Migrant, Mr. Jenkins (OC))

Have you been looking for work?

Jenkins

Yes.

Carr

What do you do?

Jenkins

Well, I just get out and go look for it.

Carr

Every day?

Jenkins

Yes.

Carr

And you haven't worked in a couple of months?

Jenkins

That's right. I don't like to sit around. I like to work. I know if I'm working, it is something for me and something for the family. Without a job, you ain't nowhere.

Carr (Martin Carr Interviews Migrant, Mr. Gay (OC))

How many days a week do you find work now?

Gay

Well, I worked 3 days last week. I don't know how many I'll get next week.

Carr

Do you go out every day and look for work?

Gay

I try to.

Carr

How much do you make on a day?

Gay

Twelve dollars.

Carr

Twelve dollars. That means you made about $36 last week?

Gay

Right.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews migrant, Mrs. Garza (OC)

Are there weeks when your husband can't get work, Mrs. Garza?

Garza

Yes, sir. Like it has been already for about five weeks.

Carr

Are there days when you go without food?

Garza

Sure we do.

Carr

What do you do then?

Garza

I have to ask for it.

Carr

You have to go around to your neighbors?

Garza

I have to ask somebody, you know. If we don't have enough food. I need some food. And some days, well, I have to get some food for the kids and my husband and I just have to wait.

Carr

Do you think you'll be able to get back to Texas?

Garza

I hope so. After school is out, and the boys will start helping us again. We might get a couple of dollars and then we can make the trip back home.

Carr

Have you ever thought of taking your boys out of school so they could help your husband work in the field?

Garza

No, sir.

Carr

You want them to finish school?

Garza

I want them to finish school. I'll try the best to education as much as I can, so they won't have to be working like we are. Because they need to learn how to read and write and talk good English, and speak good English so they can get a better job. Because if they don't go to school, they'll never have a better job than what we are doing right now. They'll be a migrant all their lives, and I don't want them to be that.

Ellis Lewis (Martin Carr interviews Migrant Ellis Lewis (OC))

Now you can't hardly make enough to go from one season to another, now.

Carr

On the average week, how much money have you been making?

Lewis

About $20 a week.

Carr

About $20 a week. Is this you, yourself?

Lewis

That's me and my wife.

Carr

You and your wife working.

Lewis

That's right.

Carr

And you're making $20 a week.

Lewis

That's right.

Carr

How much rent do you pay?

Lewis

Sixteen dollars a week.

Carr

Well, that only leaves you $4 a week.

Lewis

That's right. To get groceries with. And you can't get no groceries with $4 a week. So we just have to do the best we can.

Carr

You have six children.

Lewis

Six children and a wife.

Carr

What do you do on a week when you have only $4?

Lewis

Well, I take up. I borrow. I do anything I can, to live you know. Except steal. I don't steal none. And so we have to survive, tryin' to get by until we do go to work and make something.

Carr

On the weeks when you make nothing, is it because you don't want to work?

Lewis

No, it's because I can't work.

Carr

Why can't you work?

Lewis

Well, you can't—you can't get a bus going out or probably a bus going out and the guy you're riding with ain't got nothing, or he off for a day or two, and you just can't work.

Huntley (VO) (Huntley est. Eatmon)

Farmer K. D. Eatmon claims he has jobs that go begging. He doesn't take the migrants at their word.

Farmer Eatmon (OC) (Eatmon in field)

I would like to be able to prove to you that they didn't want work by going and trying to pick them up and bring them here and saying, "All right. Let's pick these beans." And see how many of them would really work. They will not work. They make out like they want to work, but they don't want to.

Huntley (VO) (picking Montage)

The migrant who does find work in the fields is actually earning less in terms of real money than he was ten years ago. While other workers' annual wages have gone up, his have stayed the same and inflation has taken its toll. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, the average individual migrant last year earned $891. A family of four earned $2700, nine hundred dollars below the official poverty level of the United States.

Migrants are specifically excluded from the minimum wage rate that applies to most of us. For them, the minimum wage is one dollar and thirty cents, less than the hourly wage guaranteed workers imported from the West Indies to cut sugar cane in Florida fields. For most farm workers, however, it makes little difference what the minimum wage is, for they are paid, not by the hour, but by the piece; paid for what they pick, not the time it takes them to pick it. Farmers claim that piecework means more money for the worker. For all but the youngest and strongest, however, it means less.

The day NBC News visited this bean field, the piece rate was a dollar a bushel, paid in cash as each bushel basket was filled. By the end of the eight hour day, most workers had picked just seven or eight bushels, that is, they earned seven or eight dollars, far below the minimum wage. Florida growers claim they cannot afford to pay higher wages; that higher wages would mean higher prices for the consumer. Yet, the U.S. Department of Labor estimates that if the wages paid to farm workers were *doubled*, and *all* of the increase passed on to the American housewife, she would pay just one or two pennies more for a head of lettuce, a dozen oranges, a bunch of radishes, or two pounds of celery. Perhaps the migrant, with his low wage scale, is subsidizing both farmer *and* consumer.

Celery Field.—Celery cutters are paid by the row. They are expected to cut 6000 stalks of celery a day, feeding them into a machine known as a mule train. A tractor has replaced the mules, but the migrant still supplies the stoop labor, bending over 600 times every hour in the usual 10 hour day. On a good day, he may earn $22 here at the Belle Glade farm of America's largest celery grower, A. Duda and Sons.

Huntley Est. Andrew Duda.—The Duda family grows 23 varieties of fruit and vegetables, some of which they can and market under their own labels. They farm nearly 100,000 acres in Florida plus a 2 and ¾ million acre ranch in Australia. President Andrew Duda spoke about the problems of running this vast agricultural empire.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Andrew Duda (OC)

Mr. Duda, would it be fair to describe you as one of the largest growers in Florida?

Mr. Duda

I think so.

Carr

On an annual basis, how much money do you have to take in to break even?

Duda

We gross about twenty million. Last year we paid for the privilege of farming. We lost over $400,000. Every person, every person on our—in our—in the organization including the migrant worker made more money then I did. Because we lost.

There was one while, we had five years of red ink—hand running. Five years. One year we lost a million dollars. And that's when—the farmers were going broke, particularly celery growers. And that's when we finally stopped being rugged individualists and decided we better get together because the chain stores had a tremendous buying power and we as unorganized growers were just being hurt.

So this was the condition we were faced with. We formed, got a marketing order—got a state marketing order first and a celery exchange, and then we had to go to a federal marketing order in order to have enough—as much bargaining power as the chain stores got buying power and once we did this, it works beautifully.

Carr

In other words, the growers got together to agree on what price to sell to the supermarkets.

Duda

That's right.

Carr

Mr. Duda, do you think it would be a good idea if farm labor were to organize as well?

Duda

No. Because in perishables, a week—say a farmer, particularly various crops, the farmers go on strike, they ruin a farmer real fast.

Carr

You say that the big threat to you would be the strike. You deal in perishables and if a strike occurred, you would be at the mercy of the——

Duda

That's right.

Carr

——people working. Where farm labor has been organized, the unions have agreed to a "no strike" clause. Wouldn't that solve the problem?

Duda

If anyone would say that the people would guarantee they won't strike, I don't think it's worth the paper it's written on. Years ago when we—our "darkies" as we used to call them in those days, we pointed out to them, here's the situation, here's what we're doing, here's what we're paying you. Here's what we're getting. Here's what it cost us. We're losing money on what you're harvesting. And when you pointed this out to them, they would continue to work. But you take the same people now. The young people, you tell them the same thing and they'll laugh at you. And the Negro in particular. The Negro are a fine people, but they—you—they have to respect you. You get down to their level and they have no respect for you. I mean if you want to be down and act like a Negro and be dirty and what-not, they're not going to respect you.

Huntley (*VO*) (*Race Montage*)

Florida depends on the labor of the migrant, 55% of whom are Negroes, driven there when machines replaced them in the cotton fields of the Old South. Another 35% are Mexican-Americans who migrated from Texas. Unlike the tourists visiting Florida's Gold Coast, these new arrivals are often unwelcome guests. And racism must be added to the list of problems the migrant faces, everywhere he turns in the state.

END OF ACT I

ACT II

Huntley (*VO*) (*Palm Beach footage*)

To most Americans, Florida is Miami, or the more exclusive Palm Beach, the richest township not only in Florida, but in the entire United States. Its main street is certainly the most elegant and possibly the most expensive shopping center in America. Palm Beach homes are modern day palaces occupied a few months a year by migrants of a different sort, the affluent who fly here to escape the cold, probably unaware that less than 10 miles away live the poorest people in America, crowded into homes that are not required to meet the legal standards applied to Florida's urban slums.

Migrant housing footage.—Even with standards this low, more than 100 migrant camps operated without licenses last year. This year the Florida State Board of Health did not collect statistics on unlicensed camps.

Davis Camp, Huntley (*VO*) *with track up for confrontation with Mr. Davis.*—Davis Camp, just outside Pahokee, is owned by a local house mover. The homes in Davis Camp do not meet the minimum standards. They have been condemned for a year. These are *some* of Mr. Davis' houses. We could not film them all for on the day NBC News visited the camp, guaranteed free access by Florida law, landlord Davis ordered us off his property at the point of a gun.

Davis Camp Confrontation

Davis

You don't have no business at this site.

Carr

Why don't you want me to see inside?

Davis

Just because I told you no and that means no.

Carr

Are these your own?

Davis

Yep. These are mine. I've lived in this house for years.

Carr

Is there anybody I could talk to to make arrangements——

Davis

(Off mike.)

Carr

Is there anybody I can talk to to make arrangements to come out here?

Off Mike Fades Up

Carr

Why?

Davis

Because you didn't contact me first.

Huntley (VO)

Most other camp owners did not desire to let NBC document conditions in their camps and our production crew found itself repeatedly harrassed.

Carr

Why don't you want me to see inside?

Davis

Just because I told you so and you know very well—(vehicle motor)

Huntley (VO)

Conditions in the migrant housing camps in Florida, owned and rented by public agencies, are often no better.

Huntley (OC) (Chet Huntley at Everglades camp)

Everglades Camp here in Pahokee was built more than 30 years ago as temporary housing for farm workers. Eight years ago this camp along with two others operated by the Public Housing Authority was condemned by the Palm Beach County Health officials, but eight years later, eight years after the condemnation, it is still here, still open.

Huntley (VO) (Huntley est. James Vann)

Producer Carr asked the head of the Pahokee Housing Authority, James W. Vann, why condemned public housing remains occupied.

Vann (OC) (James W. Vann)

Well, because there was no place else for the people to go. It's a commentary on the stringency of the general housing condition in this area. It boils down simply to this, sir, that—four walls and a roof regardless of how poor are better than the great outdoors.

Vann (VO) (Housing Construction Footage)

And we are, as you see, in construction on a new housing project here which is referred to as Paget Island Homes, 200 units. And we are starting construction at this time on Fremd Village, also 200 units.

Huntley (VO) (Housing Construction Footage)

Some 12,000 units of low cost housing are now open or getting under way in areas throughout Florida where migrants are concentrated. The Pahokee Housing Authority will operate 515 units with rents adjusted to meet the income of the tenants. The new projects will be a boon to the families lucky enough to move in. But as Director Vann acknowledges, there is a serious flaw in the program.

Vann (OC) (James W. Vann)

We do not have a program that is geared to the needs of the migrant. And this is one of the areas which has been, in my opinion, sadly neglected in the matter of a housing program in this country.

If I were going to build housing strictly for the migrant segment of the population, I would figure on keeping it closed at least 60 days of the year, and probably 90 days. Now if you eliminate any rental income for 25% of the year and keep the rents for the remaining 75% of the year within the reach of your migrant agricultural worker, you'd—you come up empty when you start looking for enough money to operate it. It is just simply economically impossible.

Carr (Carr interviews Vann (OC))

Would a migrant family be able to live in a project like this?

Vann

Unfortunately, you've put your finger on one of the bad points with a program of this kind. We cannot turn away permanent residents in the low income group in order to hold this housing for a migrant. The migrant is—has always been, and undoubtedly will continue to be, just by the sheer economics of the situation, the low man on the totem pole when it comes to housing.

Huntley (VO) (Armstrong Quarters)

The number of new housing units doesn't begin to meet existing needs. Migrants continue to rent from private landlords, often paying as much as $80.00 a month. These houses are commonly called "quarters", probably a holdover from the days of slavery.

Armstrong Quarters, in the center of Pahokee's slum, is owned and operated by Dr. L. W. Armstrong, a retired dentist, and his wife.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Mrs. Armstrong (OC))

Mrs. Armstrong, are these your homes here?

Mrs. Armstrong

Yes, they are.

Carr

How did you come to own them?

Mrs. Armstrong

Oh, we've had them many years. 20 or so.

Carr

You had them 20 or so years.

Mrs. Armstrong

Ummhmm.

Carr

Why did you buy them to begin with?

Mrs. Armstrong

Well, as an investment.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Mrs. Bowen (OC))

Mrs. Brown, you live in Armstrong Quarters, don't you?

Mrs. Brown

Yes, sir. Yes, sir.

Carr

How much is your monthly rent?

Mrs. Brown

I pay $42.50 for the rent.

Carr

What kind of a house do you rent?

Mrs. Brown

Yes, sir. That old wooden house that is in the corner behind the bathtub.

Carr

Does it have any running water inside?

Mrs. Brown

Outside. Everything. We got to go outdoors for everything.

Carr

Is the house in good condition?

Mrs. Brown

No, sir. It ain't in good condition.

Carr

What are the problems?

Interior of Mrs. Brown's house

Mrs. Brown

It's raggey and—when you walk, it just shakes and it just ain't no good.

Carr

Is there anybody who ever comes over and inspects your house?

Mrs. Armstrong

The state—well—health and the welfare and the city. Comes.

Carr

And have all your houses, the frame houses included, passed inspection?

Mrs. Armstrong

Yes, they have.

Carr

What are the standards for housing here?

Mrs. Armstrong

Well, for—a standard house you have to have running water inside and a sink and toilet and bath.

Carr

And do all your frame houses have this?

Mrs. Armstrong

No, they don't. They're sub-standard.

Carr

They're sub-standard.

Mrs. Armstrong

Yes.

Carr

In other words, if you fall below the building code, it doesn't make any difference you can still rent the house.

Mrs. Armstrong

Well, you—you couldn't rent something that was just newly built that way, but something that has long been in operation, why you can. But when one of our houses gets like burned or something, why we do put a standard house in.

Carr

You put a standard house in . . .

Martin Carr Interviews Residents of Armstrong Quarters (OC)

Carr (OC)

What is it like living here in Armstrong Quarters?

Resident #1

Well, it is kind of rough, but it is the best we can do.

Carr

Do you have water inside?

Resident #2

No. We have to walk down the stairs and get it.

Carr

The pump, huh?

Resident #2

It's a spigot.

Carr

What about the toilet—the toilet's outside too?

Resident #2

Yes. And they be nasty all the time, and that's where all the water be running. They be running over all the time, but she charge us for the water.

Carr

Any rats?

Resident #2

Not so many rats, but a whole gang of roaches. (Laughter.)

Carr

Roaches?

Resident #2

A whole gang of 'em.

Mrs. Armstrong (Martin Carr interviews Mrs. Armstrong (OC))

They're kind of slack. You just have to—that's our biggest problem is to see that they keep cleaned up around and keep their toilet scrubbed.

Carr

How do you manage to do that?

Mrs. Armstrong

Well, we have inspection. I do that personally.

Mrs. Brown (Martin Carr Interviews Mrs. Brown (OC))

Only way she comes through the quarters, when she hear tell of some of you all coming in and—coming in to check the quarters, then she'll come in then like that.

Carr (Martin Carr Interviews Mrs. Armstrong (OC))

Is there a housing shortage in Pahokee?

Mrs. Armstrong

Yes, there has been. Uhh huh.

Carr

So in other words, there is really not much choice for a family. If they wanted to move, there is no place to move really.

Mrs. Armstrong

No, there is not. There hasn't been and I think for some time to come it's going to be that way.

Mrs. Brown (Martin Carr Interviews Mrs. Brown (OC))

Dr. Armstrong come over here this morn'ng when I was out there washing. And he come at me and said, "Didn't you tell them folks yesterday that my house ain't no good?"

Carr

What folks did he mean?

Mrs. Brown

You. Y'all. Said y'all was out here yesterday. Meant you all. And I told him, "yeah." I said, "Yeah," I said, "You can look up there now and you can tell the house ain't no good yourself." And he said, "If the house ain't no good, you just move out. Move."

Carr

What are you going to do, Mrs. Brown?

Mrs. Brown

I'm just going to stay there until I get me somewhere to go. That's all. I ain't got nowhere to go.

END ACT II

ACT III

Voice (remedial reading class)

In this lesson you will learn how reading the labels on the products you buy can save you time, money and trouble. Now look at the new words you will see in this lesson. Say the words to yourself as I read them. Antidote.

Huntley (VO) (classroom footage. Huntley (VO) with track up for students reading laboriously

These high school students struggling to read are exceptional. Most migrant children never get this far. 80% of migrant children never enter a high school classroom. More than half don't even get to the 7th grade. The few who do are pitifully far behind. Despite streamlined remedial reading programs, and dedicated teachers like Sally Carey of Belle Glade High School.

Mrs. Carey (Mrs. Carey and student reading)

That's a name, not more.

Student

Morely. Muller

Mrs. Carey

Say it again.

Student

Moiler.

Mrs. Carey

No.

Student

Morley.

Huntley (VO) (Huntley est. Mrs. Carey)

Mrs. Carey explained why her students continue to fail.

Carr

How old are these students?

Mrs. Carey (Martin Carr interviews Sally Carey (OC))

12 to around 19 or 20.

Carr

Isn't 19 or 20 a little bit old to be learning to read?

Mrs. Carey

Yes, but they've never learned it before so they have to learn. And the classes, they haven't had the individual attention that they need in a lab, so they haven't been able to learn to read.

Carr

Are many of these boys and girls the sons and daughters of migrant families that travel?

Mrs. Carey

Oh, yes. In fact most of them, in fact there is a great many of them go up the road with their family. They may not go up the road this year, but next year they will be up in New York and New Jersey part of the year.

Carr

How does this affect their schooling?

Mrs. Carey

It takes a child a while to adjust to a classroom situation, to get to know the teacher and what she wants, and they have to do this off and on throughout the year, and without any, you know stable home, to come home to. It's more difficult to adjust.

Carr

Do any of them ever talk to you about these problems?

Mrs. Carey

The just don't want to talk about it. They don't like to be known as migrants. They don't like you to ask them if their families work in the fields. They don't—

Carr

Why is that?

Mrs. Carey

Well, they're embarrassed about it. There's some stigma attached to being a field worker.

Carr

What do you think will become of these students after they leave school?

Mrs. Carey

Work in the fields.

Huntley (*VO*) (*Montage of Children Working in Fields*)

They have been working in the fields from the time they were old enough to do the job, if only for a few days a week. No child labor law sets a minimum age for young farm workers in Florida. Children are supposed to be in school during school hours, but few people check. The United States Subcommittee on Migratory Labor estimates that 100,000 children under 16 work as hired farm hands across the nation, almost half of them between the ages of 10 and 13.

Carr

Do you have any children, M'am?

Lady (*Carr Interviews Lady in Beanfield* (*OC*))

Five.

Carr

You have five children.

Lady

Uh-huh.

Carr

Will you be able to keep them in school, do you think, till the end of the year?

Lady

Well, we try.

Carr

You try.

Lady

Yes. Sometime we takes them out to help us pick beans, you know, help us along.

Carr

How old are they?

Lady

My oldest boy is nine.

Carr

How old are the other boys?

Lady

One's eight, one's seven, six and the baby's five.

Carr

And you keep them out of school to help you in the field.

Lady

Yeah.

Carr

That's so you can make a little bit more money?

Lady

Yeah.

Carr

Are they good when they pick in the field?

Lady

Well, they do their best, you know.

Duda (OC) (Cut to Duda)

Look. This is a picture of a migrant worker—they call them migrants; they're natives—and a child in the beanfield. Look how terrible this is. And the mother and child were a picture of perfect health. And we ask: What's the matter with it? The child is in the open, fresh air. It's with his mother. What's wrong with it?

Dr. Stone (OC) (Dr. Stone Working with Children in Classroom)

Tell me about it. Tell me about what you have inside there.

Huntley (VO) (Classroom footage with track up for children and Dr. Stone talking)

This year, Florida received over $7,000,000 in federal funds to educate migrant children. But the parents of most of these students dropped out before the seventh grade, and their children, according to a Florida survey, will do exactly the same.

Dr. Stone

You don't work when you go to Texas? What do you do when you go to Texas?

Huntley (VO) (Huntley est. Dr. Stone)

Dr. Donald Stone, Director of the Collier County Migrant Education Program, explains why education alone cannot break the cycle.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Dr. Stone (OC))

About what period of time—how many months does a migrant child attend school here in Collier County?

Dr. Stone

I would say somewhere between four to seven months, out of the ten month program. For the most part, these children do not attend school other than that. This is all they get in a year, and in some years they do not attend our school when they're here in the winter time for the winter crop season, because they're needed to harvest the crop. The family wants the income that the child can produce. They must live day to day, because that is the nature of their life. The family, for example, when it works in a field, is paid daily for what it does, not at the end of the week. And the child, consequently, grows up and enters school with the notion that if he does something right he must be rewarded instantly. A person, for example, with an ambition to go to college is, in a sense, postponing an immediate reward in terms of money that he can get on a job if he were to quit school at any point, for what he hopes will be a better job much farther down the road. And if we can communicate this notion to the family, fine. But we're having this problem of breaking into that family circle.

Carr

What chances do you think a student has now to escape from the migrant situation?

Dr. Stone

Frankly, I think it would take three to four generations. The migrant child, for the most part, has a rather negative self-concept of himself and his own abilities and doesn't have too great an expectation that he can ever be anything other than what his family, his mother and father, are—or than what he's doing.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Jackson Bowers (OC))

If you were working in the orange grove, you weren't able to go to school, were you?

Bowers

No. I quit school.

Carr

You quit school. How come?

Bowers

Oh. I don't like school.

Carr

Why?

Bowers

Get into too many fights, get in too much trouble when you go to school.

Carr

You're fifteen years old now, right?

Bowers

Uh-huh.

Carr

What class were you in?

Bowers

I was in the eighth.

Carr

You were in the eighth grade.

Bowers

Uh-huh.

Carr

Before, your mother was telling me that sometimes it was a problem having enough clothes or even shoes to get to school—has that ever been a problem for you?

Bowers

Yeah. Been a problem lots of times.

Carr

Ever been a time when you haven't had the clothes to put on and shoes to put on? Bare feet?

Bowers

Uh-huh.

Carr

The other kids ever say anything?

Bowers

Yeah. They make fun of you.

Carr

They make fun of you?

Bowers

Uh-huh.

Carr

And what does it feel like, when you aren't wearing shoes or aren't wearing the right clothes, and the other kids are making fun of you?

Bowers

Just makes you feel different, that's all.

Carr

Is that why you left school?

Bowers

Uh-huh. Won't go back for nothing, neither.

Carr

Why?

Bowers

I just don't like school.

Carr

How about lunches at school? Do you get lunch at school?

Bowers

Uh-huh.

Carr

Do you have to buy them?

Bowers

Yeah.

Carr

Did you always have the money to pay for it?

Bowers

No. Sometimes we'd have to charge it.

Carr

Did you ever have to not eat and watch the other kids eat?

Bowers

Yeah. Did that a lot of times, too.

Carr

What does that feel like?

Bowers

They've got something better than you, and it makes you feel like a bum. I guess that what I am anyhow.

Carr

You think you're a bum?

Bowers

Yeah.

Carr

Why? Why, Jackson?

Bowers

I don't have—I don't have the things other people have.

Huntley (VO) (Citrus Montage)

If Florida's famous for anything beyond Palm Beach and Miami, it is oranges.

Huntley (OC) (Huntley in Orange Grove)

Two-thirds of the oranges grown in the United States are Florida oranges, from groves like this one, which happens to belong to Minute Maid. Florida farm workers each year harvest a citrus crop worth $400 million dollars to the growers. That translates into more than 25 billion oranges each year, virtually every one of them picked by hand.

Huntley (VO) (Citrus Montage)

Florida orange pickers, like other migrants, are usually paid a piece rate based on how many boxes they fill. This past season, the going piece rate was 35 cents a box. Even during the height of the season, there are days when there is no work. The weather is bad, the fruit isn't ready, or the processing plants are overloaded. A worker who might have been making $25 on a good day finds himself with days at a time, or weeks at a time, when he can't make a dime. That is why, when work is available, entire families go into the groves.

Carr (Martin Carr Interviews Mr. and Mrs. Farmer (OC))

Mrs. Farmer, how many children do you have?

Mrs. Farmer

Five.

Carr

How about when you were pregnant, did you have to work then?

Mrs. Farmer

Sure.

Carr

While you were pregnant. About how far along?

Mrs. Farmer

Uh—until 'bout I guess two weeks before the baby was born. But then if you've got kids they have to eat, and got to have a place to live, so—you automatically do what you wouldn't do if you didn't have them.

Carr

The two of you go out and work.

Mr. Farmer

Well, we can make it better when both of us are working, and uh—by myself I can't make it. I don't make enough money.

Carr

What do you do when you're by yourself there, in a day? How much money?

Mr. Farmer

Approximately ten dollars; it's hard to say because you may get in a grove that has good fruit, then you may get one that you can't make nothing out of.

Carr

Do you ever know in advance how much work you're going to have?

Mr. Farmer

No, sir. We might be told today to be ready in the morning, and in the morning they may tell us to forget it. We have it rough. We do have it rough, but we work. And fruit-picking is the hardest work—I mean it's harder than construction work or any work that I know.

Carr

But do you think you'll get caught in it? Do you want to get out of it?

Mr. Farmer

Uh, yes, I want to get out of it, but I don't know how.

Carr

Why is it that you're not working right now?

Mrs. Bowers (Martin Carr interviews Mrs. Bowers (OC))

Well, the trees are too tall, and I can't handle a ladder by myself.

Carr

Well why do you have to handle the ladder by yourself? Can't your husband help you?

Mrs. Bowers

He's not here.

Carr

Who is working to support the family?

Mrs. Bowers

Well, I work two days, but that's all. They said that I couldn't clean the trees good because I had to go up on the ladder, and I didn't do it—couldn't do it by myself.

Carr

In those two days, how much money did you make?

Mrs. Bowers

Well my son and me made—well my son worked with me too, and we made $32.

Carr

You made $32 for the two days.

Mrs. Bowers

Uh huh.

Carr

On a good week, what do you make?

Mrs. Bridges (*Martin Carr Interviews Mrs. Bridges* (*OC*))

Well, sometime I may have $50, maybe $60.

Carr

On a good week.

Mrs. Bridges

Uh huh, that's a good week for me.

Carr

And how many people are you supporting here out of that?

Mrs. Bridges

Well, just I and my daughter, four kids.

Carr

Are you worried about the future?

Mrs. Bridges

I sure am . . . I don't see no future, nothing but hard work and I mean I don't ever save anything.

Carr

Can't get ahead.

Mrs. Bridges

No, never get ahead.

Carr

What do you think of the house?

Mrs. Bridges

Well I just think it's terrible, it's not enough work to do, for a large family. And these houses just too small. It's all right for maybe just a husband and wife, but when it come round to maybe 7 or 8 or maybe 10 people in the house, it's just too many.

Carr

You have 8 people in this house?

Mrs. Bridges

That's right.

Carr

You lived here for a long time?

Mrs. Bridges

Uh huh.

Carr

How long?

Mrs. Bridges

12 years.

Carr

12 years. Who owns these houses?

Carr (VO) (Track under for Carr (VO))

These homes, I was told, are owned by the Coca Cola Company. Coca Cola is at work on a major plan, which, it claims, will correct the failings it has found in its citrus operation.

Lassiter (Mr. Lassiter interrupts interview)

Are you in charge?

Carr

Yes, sir.

Lassiter

Who'd you say give you permission?

Carr

Are we trespassing?

Lassiter

Yes.

Carr

Why?

Lassiter

Because this is a Coca-Cola Foods property.

Carr

Uh huh.

Lassiter

You got business here, it's fine. But you got to make it okay with one of our department.

Carr

Right; in other words we can't talk to the lady . . .

Lassiter

If you don't have permission, I suggest you leave till you get permission. They'd like to know about it . . .

Carr

The only reason I'm asking is . . .

Lassiter

. . . we'd be glad to have you, if you tell us what you want and what you're after and all. But we don't just have people just dropping in, and taking over, till we know what they're doing, see?

Carr

Well, how—let me ask you, how do you visit somebody at their home? I mean this is their home, right?

Lassiter (Lassiter walking away)

Ain't no argument, I'll call Joe and see what he says.

Carr

I'm just trying to finish an interview—

Lassiter

All right, let me see if he wants you to move or not, now.

Carr

I think that we should leave. I don't want you to feel that you're going to get into trouble, okay?

Mrs. Bridges

Ask me a question, and I know all I can do is tell you this . . . that's all. I mean so far as——

Carr

Well, we did beautifully and we talked.

Mrs. Bridges

So——

Carr

Thank you.

Huntley (*VO*) (*Minute Maid camp and plant*)

Coca Cola provides 89 individual housing units rent-free to families who work in its groves. In its three labor camps, Coke has dormitories for 400 single men who migrate to Florida for the citrus season. Coca Cola Foods, using the brand names Minute Maid, Snow Crop and Hi-C, is the largest single grower and processor of oranges in the world. The oranges they don't grow themselves, they have to buy. A total of about 350,000,000 a year. Giants like Coca-Cola and other large corporations such as Tropicana, Lykes-Pasco and Donald Duck support the Citrus Industrial Council, an agency to advise them on labor and harvesting practices. Its executive director, Clark M. Ghiselin, explained how citrus workers are paid.

Huntley (*Chet Huntley Interviews Mr. Ghiselin* (*OC*))

Well Mr. Ghiselin, would a weekly wage system be impossible, in this citrus industry?

Ghiselin

We have an average wage in the industry now of $2.50 an hour, which is a dollar—approximately a dollar 20 cents an hour higher than the national farm labor average.

Huntley

Mr. Ghiselin, is it true that a husband working in the groves alone, cannot make a living without the help of his wife and sometimes his children?

Ghiselin

I would have to examine the particular—the cases involved, but it could very well be, and we do find this in some—in quite a bit of frequency in our recruitment, that there are many people who are just not adaptable to picking citrus—Climbing a ladder and handling a bag, just the hard, arduous work day in and day out.

Huntley

We keep hearing, Mr. Ghiselin, that the citrus picker really has no desire to work 6 or 7 days a week over a period of time.

Ghiselin

There are a certain percentage of pickers in the industry who will work at every opportunity that's offered to them—we offer generally, as an average, between 40 and 48 hours of work a week. The average—the average number of days that the picker works, is about three and a half. His hours per day run about 6.1. Now, this is all averages. This means the worker who goes out there and doesn't pick a box, as opposed to the worker who will pick 100 boxes in a day.

Huntley (*VO*) (*Orange Grove*)

According to these figures, the average worker earns a yearly salary well below $2,000. Unless he has help from his wife and children, he is earning less than half of what the United States Government defines as the poverty level. And the Citrus Industrial Council tells us 80% of the migrants working in the groves earn even less than this. These are just the statistics, numbers which must be translated into human beings, who work when work is available, but fall farther and farther behind, as Ernest Jarvis who works in the orange groves, explains.

Carr (Martin Carr interviews Ernest Jarvis (OC))

Do you ever manage to save any money? Do you ever find yourself coming out ahead?

Jarvis

No, there's mighty few times I find myself coming out ahead. That's the reason I'm here now. If I was ahead, I wouldn't—I'm behind—

Carr

You owe money.

Jarvis

I owe money. I owe my landlord money and I owe my boss man money. I ain't been able to pay my boss man for the last four weeks, which that he—for the little work I do, he lets me keep the money, to pay my board bill and stuff like that, and he says when we get to working good, then you can pay me some.

Carr

Since you're not able to save any money, do you ever worry about say ten years from now or 15 years from now?

Jarvis

All the time. Not only then, I worry about the present, now.

Carr

What do you think?

Jarvis

I think that I need more work or better something—I need more of something. To have something to go on.

Carr

Do you have any money coming to you when you're say 60 or 65?

Jarvis

Well, accordingly, they say they would pay, they say pay Social Security something like that. Get 65, I could probably be able to draw it. But I don't know whether that would be enough. Probably be living about the same then as now.

Carr

How old are you now, Mr. Jarvis?

Jarvis

Me, I am 39.

Carr

You're 39 years old?

Jarvis

39 years old.

Huntley (VO) (Footage of Old People)

Ernest Jarvis may never be faced with the problem of collecting Social Security. The United States Public Health Service estimates that while you and I may live until the age of 70, the life expectancy for a migrant worker in America is 49 years. All of us, even newsmen, dislike facing the unpleasant. We want to turn away, avoid looking and asking those painful questions. And getting the even more painful answers. But after careful consideration, the seriousness of this subject compelled us to intrude upon the privacy of some of these people. We felt it necessary to include these interviews in our broadcast, so we would all be forced to face the sad reality of these people's lives. We talked to Mr. and Mr. Aubrey Gay. It was painful for us, it will probably be painful for you.

Carr

Mr. Gay, do you stay here during the summer?

Mr. Gay (Martin Carr Interviews Mr. & Mrs. Gay (OC))

Yes.

Carr

Why is that?

Mr. Gay

Well, . . . if you go near to Michigan, you up there and work, trying to get back you still don't accomplish anything. You spend what you make going, and spend what you make coming back.

Carr

Mrs. Gay, what do you think will happen to your children when they grow up?

Mrs. Gay

I don't know.

Carr

Do you think they'll work in the fields like you?

Mrs. Gay

If they're still farming, they probably will.

Carr

Is that what you'd like for them to do?

Mrs. Gay

No.

Carr

Do all of your children have enough clothes?

Mrs. Gay

Not all of them, they got enough they can make out with.

Carr

They all have shoes?

Mrs. Gay

Yes.

Carr

Do you ever have to go around and ask anybody, ask any of your friends or relatives for help?

Mrs. Gay

Yes.

Carr

What kind of help?

Mrs. Gay

Well, I—if I didn't have the money and had to have milk and borrow money, stuff like that.

Carr

What does it feel like, as a mother, not to be able to give your children the food that you think they should have?

Mrs. Gay

It feels pretty bad.

Carr

When they go off to school, do they get a free meal in school?

Mrs. Gay

Two of 'em does. (Weeping) (says something indistinct)

Carr

Okay.

Huntley (OC) (Huntley close)

We concentrated on conditions in Florida, which officially describes the migrants as, quote, the most economically and socially deprived segment of population in the United States, end quote. We could have made this film in any number of other states. But we chose Florida because it depends on the migrants. And for more and more of them, Florida is now home.

NBC News invited the Governor of Florida, Claude Kirk, to discuss these problems with us, but unfortunately, Governor Kirk declined.

The responsibility goes beyond Florida and other states that depend on migrant labor. Beyond even large farmers, big business, organized labor and federal agencies. To say that no programs have been instituted to help the migrants would be misleading. It is our observation that recent reforms have had little substantial effect on the conditions of their lives.

It should be the responsibility of all Americans to see that no American is deprived of the quality of life that the rest of us take for granted.

It has been 10 years since Edward R. Murrow made HARVEST OF SHAME. We hope that no one will need to make a film about migrants ten years from now.

Senator MONDALE. We have heard charges that the documentary was biased, unfair, distorted, and failed to represent the good as well as the bad.

What is your response to those charges?

Mr. CARR. I have been hearing that charge, Senator, before I ever finished shooting the documentary. I heard the charge repeatedly while I was editing it. I heard the charge from the head of agriculture of the State of Florida who said, "It is biased, unfair, one-sided, although I have not yet seen it."

I heard it again from the Governor of Florida.

According to the Miami Herald, the Governor of Florida repeated it the day after the program. He claimed it was so biased he did not bother to watch it.

Senator MONDALE. Did you offer the Governor an opportunity to be in the show?

Mr. CARR. Yes; we did, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. What did the Governor do with that offer?

Mr. CARR. Initially he was delighted with the offer. He said he would like to be interviewed by Chet Huntley as long as the interview was conducted in an orange grove. We set up a tentative date to be confirmed by the Governor or his office.

When the date approached and we had not heard from the Governor we began to call. Our calls—well, we never managed to get through. Finally we sent a series of telegrams. Four days before the scheduled interview the Governor's office phoned and said the Governor preferred not to go ahead with the interview.

He had heard that the program was biased, one sided, and he did not feel that he could do justice to the subject under the circumstances.

Senator MONDALE. Was Mr. Wedgworth offered a chance to be interviewed for this program?

Mr. CARR. Mr. Wedgworth expressed the desire to participate in the program. We had a long meeting lasting an entire afternoon as a matter of fact, where Mr. Wedgworth and his mother set forth their views. When Andrew Duda agreed to become part of the program since their views seemed to coincide in all matters I informed Mr. Wedgworth that it would not be necessary to include him in the broadcast.

I also felt that there were strings attached to his cooperation and that certain of the problems he had created for me in the State of Florida made me wonder about his truthfulness, to be exact, as a person to be interviewed.

Senator MONDALE. What were those obstacles and what were the problems?

Mr. CARR. We had been conducting an interview in the rural legal services office with a lawyer and a field representative of rural legal services in Florida.

The interview we were filming had just ended, when Mr. Wedgworth burst in on the proceedings and wondered who we were and why we were there.

Senator MONDALE. Where was that?

Mr. CARR. That was in Belle Glade, Fla., at the office of rural legal services.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Wedgworth broke into that office?

Mr. CARR. He is a member of the board as I understand it and had been there that afternoon attending a meeting. It was explained to him, I think quite carefully, by a field representative and by one of the lawyers why we were there.

However, the following day the headlines in the Palm Beach papers were to the effect that NBC crew uses rural legal services without authority, and went on to point out that we were there for no reason that he could discern and in addition created the impression that since nobody of responsibility to rural legal services was about, we might have gone through the drawers and read the records that they were keeping.

I thought that was rather unfair. To be fair to Mr. Wedgworth, however, he did apologize for this. He said, "Although I gave the reporter this information I had no idea he would print it."

Senator MONDALE. Now the chief charge is that the documentary is biased; the growers indicate that the situation there is much better for the migrants than your documentary reflects. Can you give us your response to that charge?

Mr. CARR. I would say that the documentary does speak for itself, and is a fair picture of conditions as they exist in Florida.

I am not acquainted with, and I spent a considerable amount of time in the State, many of these so-called improved conditions that Mr. Wedgworth, for instance, was referring to.

Senator MONDALE. How long were you in Florida?

How long were you personally there?

How widely did you travel?

Mr. CARR. I traveled fairly extensively from the southern part of Dade County to a hundred miles north of Orlando and from one coast to the other coast of Florida.

All told I spent roughly 2 months in Florida. I had been working on the documentary since sometime in February.

Senator MONDALE. There have been charges that the documentary itself was changed substantially, or changed in some way, as a result of pressure from Coca-Cola.

Would you respond to that?

Mr. CARR. It is my understanding, though I was not part of the meeting that occurred, that Coca-Cola brought to the attention of NBC the day of the scheduled showing of the documentary a plan that they intended to put into effect to improve conditions for the migrant workers in citrus in Florida.

The president of NBC News, Reuven Frank, brought this plan to my attention and felt that to be fair to Coca-Cola it would be good to include the plan or mention the plan in the documentary and wondered if this were possible.

Since it was possible I agreed to do it, trying to be fair to Coca-Cola. In addition, Coca-Cola felt that they bore an unfair share of responsibility for setting the standards, that is wage standards, living standards, for migrant workers in Florida, and this was brought to my attention also by Mr. Frank and I agreed.

One sentence was deleted trying to give the impression that not only Coke but other large companies bore a fair share of the responsibility and taking the onus off Coca-Cola individually.

Senator MONDALE. In your opinion, were those serious changes?

Mr. CARR. No; if they had either falsified the documentary or weakened it in any way I probably would not have agreed to them. I found them to be truthful, easy to make, and perfectly agreeable.

Senator MONDALE. Now, Mr. Wedgworth commented that migrants should not be called bums, that this degrades them. But it is my recollection in the documentary that that reference was derived from an interview with a young boy who said, of himself, that he felt he was a bum.

Is my recollection correct?

Mr. CARR. That is right, Senator, absolutely correct.

Senator MONDALE. That interview captured something that I have seen so many times in migrant camps, ghettos and Indian reservations, with the poor in this country. They express a sense of defeat, self-deprecation, hopelessness, despair, and just general ruin.

Would you not say that this migratory labor system must be one of the cruelest and most tortuous human institutions in America today?

Mr. CARR. Judging from the many examples of destroyed humanity that I met daily as I traveled around the State of Florida I can't help but agree, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. I am sorry that I lost my temper with Mr. Wedgworth, but it boils from frustration over my inability to express to the American public the cruel destruction visited upon these children.

I thought you were able to capture that for a brief moment in the documentary. I do not believe Americans would permit this to happen if they could visit these camps and talk to these children.

I just don't think they would do it. But since it is remote and distant, as we find, even from some of the major corporations that own these camps. Somehow for 75 years this system has operated and continued, and some claim it is worse today than it was, say, 25 years ago.

Thus I can only hope that this documentary helps shock the conscience of this country and that there might follow the kind of legislation that will enable these people to have their own fair share of political and economic power to seek a better life—that they might finally be accorded the protections of the same social and economic legislation that has protected the rest of us for years.

That is my hope. I am not very optimistic, but that is my hope. I thank you very much for a most sensitive and most moving documentary.

Mr. CARR. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Did you watch the workers in the field?

Mr. CARR. While we were filming, yes.

Senator MONDALE. Did you get the impression that there was a lack of motivation on the part of these workers to go out and work to earn a living?

Mr. CARR. Just the opposite, Senator. In a constant series of interviews I heard over and over again the statement to the effect that they wanted to work, only work was not always available, and when it was they were more than delighted to take it.

Senator MONDALE. Was it your impression that they were lazy workers, that those who had jobs did not seem to be exerting themselves?

Mr. CARR. Just the opposite. It is extremely difficult work and most of the workers that I observed were working very, very hard.

Senator MONDALE. Last week I was in Uvalde, Tex., at the home of a Mexican-American family. The father worked in a local grocery store I think for $3,300 a year. There were around eight or 10 in the family. The mother was 36; she was a brilliant lady who had educated herself.

She told me that last summer she left her husband home to work in a grocery store and took her whole family north to work in the sugar beets. They worked all summer, the whole family, to earn enough money to keep that family going.

I have seen this story repeatedly, hundreds of times. To say that there are questions about motivation—I have never seen a group so motivated. They don't want welfare, they are very proud people, until we beat that pride and dignity out of them.

Mr. CARR. Well, we did not have time, Senator, to include this in the documentary but when we visited a bean field, since it was only employment available at the time on that day, I learned that the average worker in the field had traveled approximately 150 miles in order to be able to get to work that day.

They worked for about 8 hours picking beans and left, pocketing about $8.

Senator MONDALE. Were there situations which you filmed that were worse than those which were in the documentary?

Mr. CARR. I would say that the documentary is a fair picture of the conditions as they exist in Florida.

Senator MONDALE. You also took some film of doctors examining children of migrants and farmworkers in Texas, did you not?

Mr. CARR. Yes, I did, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. I understand that the decision was made later that that would not be included. Could you comment a little bit on your appraisal of what you saw during those medical examinations and what kinds of conclusions you personally drew from the conditions there in that area in Texas?

Mr. CARR. If I may speak as a human being rather than as a reporter.

Senator MONDALE. Without objection that will be granted. It will be for the first time though. [Laughter.]

Mr. CARR. I was horrified. I had spent about 10 months examining the problem of hunger in America. I thought I had became rather inured to conditions of poverty and extreme hunger and of the disease that usually goes along with it. In all of my travels around the United States, investigating hunger and in all of my travels investigating the migrant situation both in Florida and in Texas, I never saw anything worse or I think as bad as the conditions I observed in Hidalgo County that week I was there.

I would have liked to include the whole sequence with the doctors in the documentary. As I informed the doctors, regrettably it was not possible simply for considerations of time.

Senator MONDALE. Is there any chance that another documentary can be done on that aspect, on the health problems of the disadvantaged?

Mr. CARR. That is a decision I can't make, Senator.

Senator MONDALE. Have you had a chance to examine any of the materials submitted to you by Mr. Wedgworth?

Mr. CARR. Only the material that I received in the course of preparing the documentary which did not come directly from Mr. Wedgworth but came from the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association. I felt it incumbent upon me to read all of the material that they sent to NBC.

I may say it took several nights to digest it all. And while they did bring to my attention several changes or perhaps improvements that they might have made in living conditions for the migrants in Florida it was my feeling that none of these so-called changes or improvements had any substantial effect on the basic quality of life of the migrants.

Senator MONDALE. I was in Florida, with the Nutrition Committee, going over the food stamp program and commodity food programs to which Mr. Wedgworth made mention.

It is true that in some counties there are food programs. But it is also true they are token programs, and they really don't meet any substantial or significant portions of the problem.

I think that is the issue here.

In the documentary there are a few occasions which you were ordered off property and even threatened. Was this prohibition from going on premises and interviewing workers and talking to them a major problem in developing the documentary, or was that just a minor isolated problem?

Mr. CARR. There were many instances of intimidation, or over cooperation you might say. One wonders if a migrant is going to give an open interview standing 4 paces from the sheriff. But it is a problem that I have learned to handle so that it did not seriously affect our operations.

We had to gear ourselves as a commando unit and move before anyone knew where we might be going in order to arrive before the sheriff or before the farmowner or whatever other local officials might be interested.

We managed to do this in most instances.

Seenator MONDALE. Again, thank you very much, Mr. Carr, for very useful testimony.

Mr. CARR. Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Harlan Chidsey, a New York State farmer, and Mr. James Pierce, of the National Sharecroppers Fund have requested to testify, but I am afraid we do not have time to hear them today. It is now 12:45. I will ask unanimous consent that their statements appear in full at the conclusion of today's hearings as though read.

If either of them wishes to testify we will be glad to schedule a time when they can appear personally.

Mr. CHIDSEY [from the audience]. Sir, I feel that to give fair treatment to the witnesses I should be heard. I have driven 900 miles back and forth to come here to testify.

Senator MONDALE. Come on up to the witness table.

Mr. CHIDSEY. Do you mean it or not?

Senator MONDALE. I mean it.

Mr. CHIDSEY. I am surprised that a citizen of this country has to beg for a chance to testify on a subject as important as this. I have gotten nothing but the runaround.

STATEMENT OF HARLAND W. CHIDSEY, FARMER, HARLAND W. CHIDSEY FARMS, PENN YAN, N.Y.

Mr. CHIDSEY. Senator Mondale, members of the committee, and ladies and gentlemen: I am Harland Chidsey, 46, of Penn Yan, N.Y.

In the operation of my 280-acre vegetable crop farm I have used and housed migratory labor for the last 20 years.

To represent myself as God's gift to the migrant before this hearing would be inconceivable. But rather to be myself and express to you my beliefs and philosophy toward my fellow man regardless of his station in life and the hue of his skin.

One's beliefs and actions today are tempered by the profit and loss factor, agriculture is no exception and neither am I. From the first use of migrant labor I found that they are not cheap labor, but that their ability to do weeding, picking, and packing of vegetable crops was essential to me.

The first crop was planted and growing, the people were coming, where do you put them? How much do you pay them? That chickenhouse was the newest building on the farm at that time. Scrubbed, disinfected, and painted with one addition for a kitchen and another for two flush toilets and two showers, curtains and our home television (the workers had it in the summer and we had the set in the winter). We were said to have had one of the first camps with flush toilets, I know it was the first chickenhouse to have his and her showers.

The first wages were about 80 cents per hour with a piecework rate of 10 cents per bushel for picking green tomatoes, figured at 10 hours per day this was 300 percent more than these workers made in the South at that time and free rent and firewood were furnished.

Sensing a need to protect the workers and myself in case of work-connected accidents, New York State compensation coverage was carried and paid for by me from the second year on. About 15 years before compensation became mandatory in New York State for many farmworkers.

I have personally introduced resolutions at the county level of farm bureau to cover all farm labor in the State regardless of a farmer's payroll, it is now only mandatory for all farmers with payrolls over $1,200 per year.

The first few years of operating a camp was a time of learning for both myself and the workers. I found that they could do many or all jobs that my farm needed.

Tractor driving, supervising, and truck driving. In order to maintain steady work and wages, I would stagger the workers' arrival and departure in accordance with their wishes and my needs.

Some workers in those years returned to my farm as many as 7 years. Many years the turnover of personnel would be less than 20 percent.

Yes, we had behavior problems, cleanliness, adjustments, and community concerns. Many of these type problems are still with us today.

One has to be employer, negotiator, peace officer, nurse, and public relations man to run a labor camp.

Wages over the years have been raised voluntarily by me to be competitive with other jobs through negotiations with the employees and to be above any minimums enacted by governmental edicts.

New York State has been interested in and inspecting labor camps and the treatment given migratory labor for all the years that I have operated a camp. Their concerns have been health, housing, fire hazards, education, and wage payment practices. I am proud that my State has led the way in these areas.

One concern of the State was fire-resistant material on the inside walls of camps. This regulation was enforced on a downward sliding scale according to the number of residents in a camp.

Starting with camps over 150 persons and all new structures, down to camps with 12 or over in about 5 years. Now it covers all camps, would your house pass?

This approach growers knew was coming and had time to make financial arrangements to comply.

For many years all departmental groups with interest in migratory labor made a five meeting tour of the State to explain changes in laws and regulations concerning camp operations. The farmers were kept informed and the department personnel learned from the growers in order to realistically approach future problems.

In recent years my employees have favored chili, hot peppers, and tortillas, over chops, neck bone, and black-eyed peas. The size of my camp is now the main building which has been refurbished three times, plus nine smaller family-type buildings and a new larger shower and toilet building. The camp holds up to 45 people under the State regulations.

Over the years we have worked closely with the State and Federal farm labor people in procuring workers and in trying to keep the worker busy in more than one area or State.

Our local churches and medical people have provided a house of concern for any people who might need help. Recently opened is a clinic that is available to migrant and local persons. I have always looked to the churches as a source of help if an emergency arose in conjunction with my camp.

Public health resources have always been available to the migrants of our area—letting the migrant pay according to his resources and keep claim to his dignity.

To bring this committee up to date on my own and local wage rates, I am enclosing certificates of intent which are sent to or presented each worker before work is started.

Much of my statement has been on my operation. I will say that 80 percent of New York State camps are as good as or better than mine and that pay schedules match or are better than mine.

In 1960, the country was shocked by the plight of the migrant as depicted by CBS's Harvest of Shame. I was concerned at the one sidedness of that presentation. It also spurred me to do even better by my workers.

Now we have the sequel by NBC that shows even more bias and one sidedness. Surely I am concerned with the humanitarian problems. I am aware that if other growers are not paying the price for labor or providing adequate living facilities that these growers or processors have an unfair advantage over me at the marketplace.

Senator MONDALE. Would you yield there?

Mr. CHIDSEY. Yes, sir.

Senator MONDALE. There was an educational television documentary "What Harvest for the Reaper," on the condition of migratory workers in New York State 2 years ago by National Educational Television. Did you see that?

Mr. CHIDSEY. I believe I saw it, sir. I cannot remember it well enough to make too much comment on it.

Senator MONDALE. The documentary seen the other night was on Florida migrants. The other to which I make reference was migrants in New York State.

Mr. CHIDSEY. The committee may think I am horning in because my statement is about migrants in New York State. When they talk of migrants, to me it means migrants in the United States.

Any inference as to treatment of migrants refers to me personally because I am a migrant camp operator.

Senator MONDALE. There seems to be a feeling that all these documentaries are distorted. The one on New York migrants was really, I thought, devastating.

Mr. CHIDSEY. Was that the one with the barbed wire around the camp on Long Island?

Senator MONDALE. Yes; on Long Island. Was that documentary distorted, too?

Mr. CHIDSEY. We had two Senators, Mr. Javits and the late Mr. Kennedy who inspected the camps. They went to the worst ones in the State.

Mr. MITTLEMAN. I believe the camp was called the Sodus Camp.

Mr. CHIDSEY. In Wayne County.

Mr. MITTLEMAN. That camp consisted of abandoned bus hulks. They had stripped them down and set them up in a row and that was the housing for the migrants.

Mr. CHIDSEY. I am not proud of that but I would have liked to have had at least my own representatives of my own State look at some better camps and see what is being done.

May I finish now?

Senator MONDALE. By all means.

Mr. CHIDSEY. When Mr. Huntley spoke that the migrants' lot had not improved over the last 10 years, he is false. When a man of his supposed stature, employed by a large network, flagrantly omits the large number of growers and processors who have conscientiously provided good to excellent housing and fair wages to migratory farmworkers, he should be censored by all.

I have always felt that telling both sides of a subject was an American trait. What do you think?

Each person who has worked for me must verify my honesty and sincerity in my dealing with them. I would hasten to add that there is a power greater than any of us to judge our treatment of our fellow man. With this in mind, I submit that I have never exploited any person knowingly. I am but one of a great number of camp operators over the country that can say this.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Mr. CHIDSEY. If I could just have one second.

Senator MONDALE. By all means.

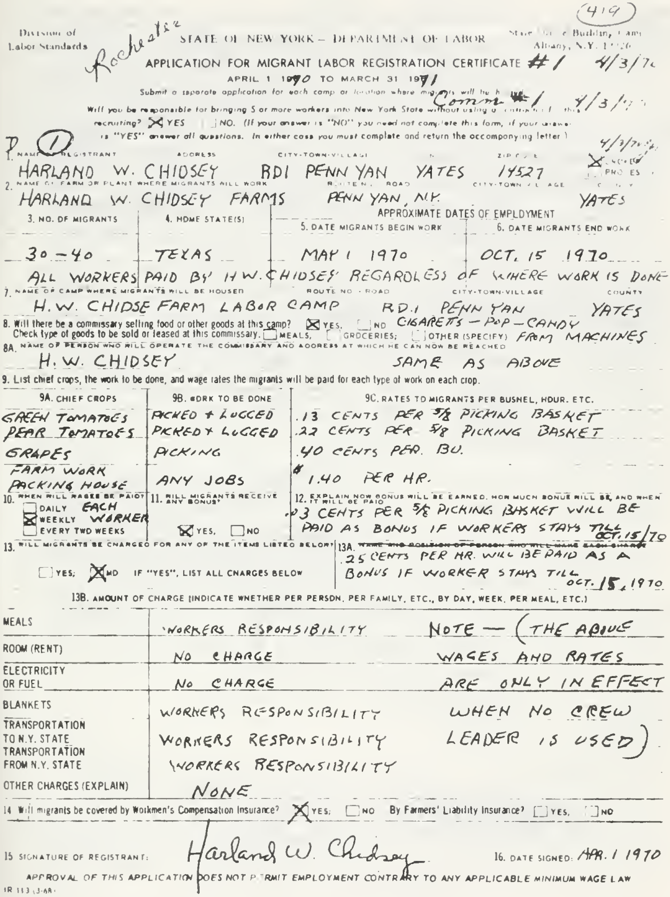
Mr. CHIDSEY. For you people that don't see them these are certificates of intent that New York State law requires the farmer or grower or processor to file for the workers.

They spell out the minimums that the worker will get. I have four here that came from four camps right in my area. They go from a low of $1.45 an hour with piecework that would pay up to $2, $2.50 an hour, to a high of $1.75 and a piecework schedule that could pay up to $30 or $35 a day.

It also sets forth what will be the worker's responsibility, what room rent will be charged, whether electricity and fuel will be charged, transportation to New York.

It is all spelled out here. If an employer in the New York State can not live up to this he is liable under the labor laws of the State of New York.

(The information referred to follows:)



(419)

Division of Labor Standards

Rochester

STATE OF NEW YORK – DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

State Office Building, Campus
Albany, N.Y. 12226

APPLICATION FOR MIGRANT LABOR REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE #1 4/3/70

APRIL 1 1970 TO MARCH 31 1971

Submit a separate application for each camp or location where migrants will be housed.

Comm #1 4/3/70

Will you be responsible for bringing 5 or more workers into New York State without using a contractor for this recruiting? ☒ YES ☐ NO. (If your answer is "NO" you need not complete this form, if your answer is "YES" answer all questions. In either case you must complete and return the accompanying letter.)

P. ①

4/3/70

☒ [illegible] ☐ PROCESSED

1. NAME OF REGISTRANT: HARLAND W. CHIDSEY — ADDRESS: RDI — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: PENN YAN — COUNTY: YATES — ZIP CODE: 14527

2. NAME OF FARM OR PLANT WHERE MIGRANTS WILL WORK: HARLAND W. CHIDSEY FARMS — ROUTE NO. ROAD: PENN YAN, N.Y. — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: — COUNTY: YATES

3. NO. OF MIGRANTS	4. HOME STATE(S)	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 5. DATE MIGRANTS BEGIN WORK	6. DATE MIGRANTS END WORK
30 – 40	TEXAS	MAY 1 1970	OCT. 15 1970

ALL WORKERS PAID BY H.W. CHIDSEY REGARDLESS OF WHERE WORK IS DONE

7. NAME OF CAMP WHERE MIGRANTS WILL BE HOUSED: H.W. CHIDSE FARM LABOR CAMP — ROUTE NO. - ROAD: RD.1 — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: PENN YAN — COUNTY: YATES

8. Will there be a commissary selling food or other goods at this camp? ☒ YES, ☐ NO
Check type of goods to be sold or leased at this commissary. ☐ MEALS, ☐ GROCERIES; ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY) CIGARETTS – POP – CANDY FROM MACHINES

8A. NAME OF PERSON WHO WILL OPERATE THE COMMISSARY AND ADDRESS AT WHICH HE CAN NOW BE REACHED: H.W. CHIDSEY — SAME AS ABOVE

9. List chief crops, the work to be done, and wage rates the migrants will be paid for each type of work on each crop.

9A. CHIEF CROPS	9B. WORK TO BE DONE	9C. RATES TO MIGRANTS PER BUSHEL, HOUR, ETC.
GREEN TOMATOES	PICKED + LUGGED	.13 CENTS PER 5/8 PICKING BASKET
PEAR TOMATOES	PICKED + LUGGED	.22 CENTS PER 5/8 PICKING BASKET
GRAPES	PICKING	.40 CENTS PER. BU.
FARM WORK PACKING HOUSE	ANY JOBS	$ 1.40 PER HR.

10. WHEN WILL WAGES BE PAID?
☐ DAILY
☒ WEEKLY
☐ EVERY TWO WEEKS
EACH WORKER

11. WILL MIGRANTS RECEIVE ANY BONUS? ☒ YES, ☐ NO

12. EXPLAIN HOW BONUS WILL BE EARNED, HOW MUCH BONUS WILL BE, AND WHEN IT WILL BE PAID: .03 CENTS PER 5/8 PICKING BASKET WILL BE PAID AS BONUS IF WORKERS STAYS TILL OCT. 15/70

13. WILL MIGRANTS BE CHARGED FOR ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW? ☐ YES; ☒ NO IF "YES", LIST ALL CHARGES BELOW

13A. ~~NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON WHO WILL MAKE EACH CHARGE~~ .25 CENTS PER HR. WILL BE PAID AS A BONUS IF WORKER STAYS TILL OCT. 15, 1970

13B. AMOUNT OF CHARGE (INDICATE WHETHER PER PERSON, PER FAMILY, ETC., BY DAY, WEEK, PER MEAL, ETC.)

MEALS	WORKERS RESPONSIBILITY	NOTE — (THE ABOVE
ROOM (RENT)	NO CHARGE	WAGES AND RATES
ELECTRICITY OR FUEL	NO CHARGE	ARE ONLY IN EFFECT
BLANKETS	WORKERS RESPONSIBILITY	WHEN NO CREW
TRANSPORTATION TO N.Y. STATE	WORKERS RESPONSIBILITY	LEADER IS USED)
TRANSPORTATION FROM N.Y. STATE	WORKERS RESPONSIBILITY	
OTHER CHARGES (EXPLAIN)	NONE	

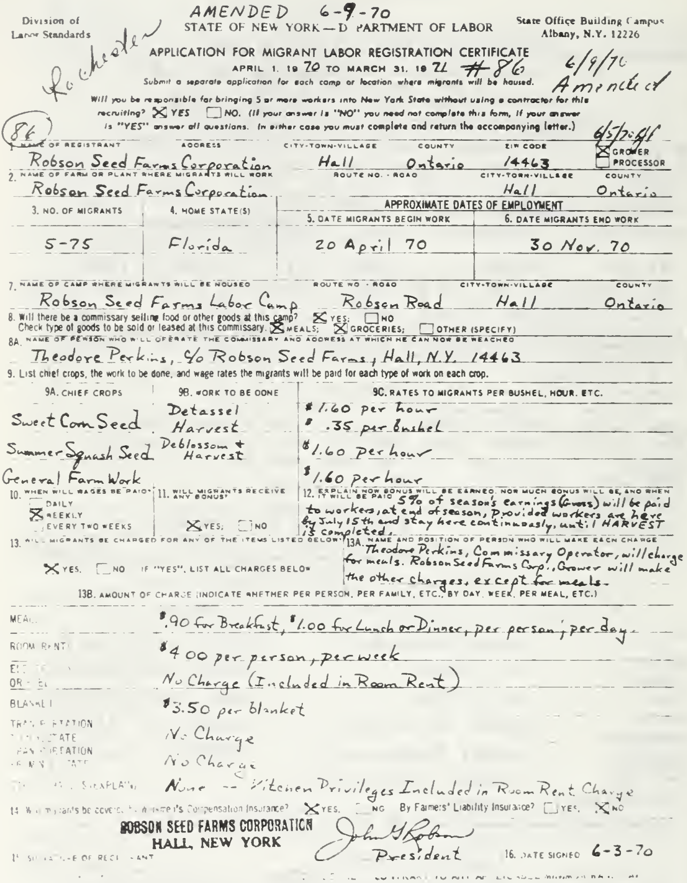
14. Will migrants be covered by Workmen's Compensation Insurance? ☒ YES; ☐ NO By Farmers' Liability Insurance? ☐ YES, ☐ NO

15. SIGNATURE OF REGISTRANT: Harland W. Chidsey

16. DATE SIGNED: APR. 1 1970

APPROVAL OF THIS APPLICATION DOES NOT PERMIT EMPLOYMENT CONTRARY TO ANY APPLICABLE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

LR 113 (3-68)



AMENDED 6-9-70

Division of
Labor Standards

Rochester

STATE OF NEW YORK — DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

State Office Building Campus
Albany, N.Y. 12226

APPLICATION FOR MIGRANT LABOR REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE

APRIL 1, 19 70 TO MARCH 31, 19 71 #86

6/9/70
Amended

Submit a separate application for each camp or location where migrants will be housed.

Will you be responsible for bringing 5 or more workers into New York State without using a contractor for this recruiting? ☒ YES ☐ NO. *(If your answer is "NO" you need not complete this form. If your answer is "YES" answer all questions. In either case you must complete and return the accompanying letter.)*

86

6/5/70

1. NAME OF REGISTRANT	ADDRESS	CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE	COUNTY	ZIP CODE	
Robson Seed Farms Corporation		Hall	Ontario	14463	☒ GROWER ☐ PROCESSOR

2. NAME OF FARM OR PLANT WHERE MIGRANTS WILL WORK	ROUTE NO. - ROAD	CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE	COUNTY
Robson Seed Farms Corporation		Hall	Ontario

3. NO. OF MIGRANTS	4. HOME STATE(S)	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 5. DATE MIGRANTS BEGIN WORK	6. DATE MIGRANTS END WORK
5-75	Florida	20 April 70	30 Nov. 70

7. NAME OF CAMP WHERE MIGRANTS WILL BE HOUSED	ROUTE NO. - ROAD	CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE	COUNTY
Robson Seed Farms Labor Camp	Robson Road	Hall	Ontario

8. Will there be a commissary selling food or other goods at this camp? ☒ YES; ☐ NO

Check type of goods to be sold or leased at this commissary. ☒ MEALS; ☒ GROCERIES; ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY)

8A. NAME OF PERSON WHO WILL OPERATE THE COMMISSARY AND ADDRESS AT WHICH HE CAN NOW BE REACHED

Theodore Perkins, c/o Robson Seed Farms, Hall, N.Y. 14463

9. List chief crops, the work to be done, and wage rates the migrants will be paid for each type of work on each crop.

9A. CHIEF CROPS	9B. WORK TO BE DONE	9C. RATES TO MIGRANTS PER BUSHEL, HOUR, ETC.
Sweet Corn Seed	Detassel	$1.60 per hour
	Harvest	$ .35 per bushel
Summer Squash Seed	Deblossom + Harvest	$1.60 per hour
General Farm Work		$1.60 per hour

10. WHEN WILL WAGES BE PAID?
☐ DAILY
☒ WEEKLY
☐ EVERY TWO WEEKS

11. WILL MIGRANTS RECEIVE ANY BONUS? ☒ YES; ☐ NO

12. EXPLAIN HOW BONUS WILL BE EARNED, HOW MUCH BONUS WILL BE, AND WHEN IT WILL BE PAID: 5% of season's earnings (Gross) will be paid to workers, at end of season, provided workers are here by July 15th and stay here continuously, until HARVEST is completed.

13. WILL MIGRANTS BE CHARGED FOR ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW? ☒ YES. ☐ NO IF "YES", LIST ALL CHARGES BELOW

13A. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON WHO WILL MAKE EACH CHARGE: Theodore Perkins, Commissary Operator, will charge for meals. Robson Seed Farms Corp., Grower will make the other charges, except for meals.

13B. AMOUNT OF CHARGE (INDICATE WHETHER PER PERSON, PER FAMILY, ETC., BY DAY, WEEK, PER MEAL, ETC.)

MEALS	$.90 for Breakfast, $1.00 for Lunch or Dinner, per person; per day.
ROOM RENT	$4 00 per person, per week
EL[illegible] OR [illegible]	No Charge (Included in Room Rent)
BLANKET	$3.50 per blanket
TRANSPORTATION [illegible] STATE	No Charge
TRANSPORTATION [illegible] STATE	No Charge
[illegible] EXPLAIN	None -- Kitchen Privileges Included in Room Rent Charge

14. Will migrants be covered by Workmen's Compensation Insurance? ☒ YES. ☐ NO By Farmers' Liability Insurance? ☐ YES. ☒ NO

ROBSON SEED FARMS CORPORATION
HALL, NEW YORK

John G Robson
President

15. SIGNATURE OF REGISTRANT

16. DATE SIGNED 6-3-70

Division of
Labor Standards Rochester

Issued 1/1/70

STATE OF NEW YORK — DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

State Office Building Campus
Albany, N. Y. 12226

☒ APPLICATION FOR FARM LABOR CONTRACTOR CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION #111 7/1/70
(Answer all questions · Prepare a separate application for each grower or processor you expect to serve)

☐ APPLICATION FOR PERMIT TO OPERATE A FARM LABOR CAMP COMMISSARY
(Answer only questions 1 & 9, 9a, 15, 15a-b, 17 a-h, 18, 19, 19a-e, 20)

111 APRIL 1, 1970 TO MARCH 31, 1971 PLEASE PRINT IN INK OR USE TYPEWRITER 7/1/70

1. YOUR FULL NAME: Alcario Avalos — YOUR PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS: P.O. Box 731 — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: Rubonia — COUNTY: Manatee — STATE: Florida — ZIP CODE:

2. CHECK EACH OF THE SERVICES YOU WILL PROVIDE FOR A FEE
☒ RECRUIT WORKERS; ☒ TRANSPORT WORKERS, ☒ SUPPLY WORKERS; ☒ HIRE WORKERS, ☒ SUPERVISE WORKERS

3. NAME OF FARM OR PLANT WHERE WORKERS WILL WORK: Paragon Produce — ROUTE NO. - ROAD: Box 482 — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: Geneva — COUNTY: Ontario

4. NO. OF WORKERS	5. HOME STATE(S) OF WORKERS	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 6. DATE WORKERS BEGIN WORK	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 7. DATE WORKERS END WORK
75	Florida	June 24, 1970	Approx. Nov. 1, 1970

8. NAME OF CAMP WHERE WORKERS WILL BE HOUSED: Paragon Trailer Court — ROUTE NO. - ROAD: Rushville — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE: Yates — COUNTY: ~~Ontario~~

9. Will there be a commissary selling food or other goods at this camp? ☐ YES; ☒ NO
Check type of goods to be sold or leased at the commissary ☐ MEALS; ☐ GROCERIES; ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY)

9A. NAME OF PERSON WHO WILL OPERATE THE COMMISSARY AND ADDRESS AT WHICH HE CAN BE REACHED: None

10. List chief crops, the work to be done, and the wage rates the WORKERS will be paid for each type of work on each crop.

10A. CHIEF CROPS	10B. WORK TO BE DONE	10C. RATES TO WORKERS PER BUSHEL, HOUR, ETC.
Tomatoes	Hoeing — Harvest	$1.75 Per hr per worker 30¢ per Bu. Field Box

11. WHEN WILL WAGES BE PAID?
☐ DAILY
☒ WEEKLY
☐ EVERY TWO WEEKS

12. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING WAGES: Alcario Avalos Crew leader

13. Will workers receive any bonus? ☒ YES; ☐ NO

13A. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING BONUS: Alcario Avalos

14. EXPLAIN HOW BONUS WILL BE EARNED, HOW MUCH BONUS WILL BE, AND WHEN IT WILL BE PAID
5¢ per bu. Field box Providing Worker Works until end of Tomato Harvest.

15. WILL WORKERS BE CHARGED FOR ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW? ☒ YES, ☐ NO. 15A. IF YES, ENTER NAME AND ADDRESS OF PERSON WHO WILL MAKE EACH CHARGE AND LIST CHARGES BELOW
Alcario Avalos Box 482 Geneva N.Y.

15B. AMOUNT OF CHARGE (INDICATE WHETHER PER PERSON, PER FAMILY, ETC., BY DAY, WEEK, PER MEAL, ETC.)

MEALS	None
ROOM	$5.00 Per Week Per Worker.
[illegible]	None
[illegible]	"
[illegible]	"
[illegible]	"
[illegible]	"

16. Will workers [illegible] ☒ YES; ☐ NO By Farmers' Liability Insurance? ☒ YES; ☐ NO

[illegible] Paragon Produce

APPROVAL OF THIS APPLICATION DOES NOT PERMIT EMPLOYMENT CONTRARY TO ANY APPLICABLE MINIMUM WAGE LAW.

Division of
Labor Standards Rochester

STATE OF NEW YORK — DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

State Office Building Campus
Albany, N. Y. 122[illegible]

☒ APPLICATION FOR FARM LABOR CONTRACTOR CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION #121 7/8/70

Answer all questions · Prepare a separate application for each grower or processor you expect to serve

☐ APPLICATION FOR PERMIT TO OPERATE A FARM LABOR CAMP COMMISSARY

(Answer only questions 1, 8, 9, 9a, 15, 15a-b, 17 a-h, 18, 19, 19a-e 20)

(121)

APRIL 1, 19 70 TO MARCH 31 19 71

PLEASE PRINT IN INK OR USE TYPEWRITER

1. YOUR FULL NAME — YOUR PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS — CITY, TOWN, VILLAGE — COUNTY — STATE

Andres Espinosa Rt # 2 Box 43 L Mission Hdlgo Texas 78

2. CHECK EACH OF THE SERVICES YOU WILL PROVIDE FOR A FEE

☒ RECRUIT WORKERS; ☒ TRANSPORT WORKERS, ☒ SUPPLY WORKERS, ☒ HIRE WORKERS, ☒ SUPERVISE WORKERS

3. NAME OF FARM OR PLANT WHERE WORKERS WILL WORK — ROUTE NO. - ROAD — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE — COUNTY

Jensen Farms R.D. # 4 Penn Yan N.Y. Yates

4. NO. OF WORKERS	5. HOME STATE(S) OF WORKERS	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 6. DATE WORKERS BEGIN WORK	APPROXIMATE DATES OF EMPLOYMENT 7. DATE WORKERS END WORK
15 - 20	Texas	6/15/70	11/1/70

8. NAME OF CAMP WHERE WORKERS WILL BE HOUSED — ROUTE NO. - ROAD — CITY-TOWN-VILLAGE — COUNTY

Jensen Labor Camp R.D. # 4 Penn Yan N.Y. Yates

9. Will there be a commissary selling food or other goods at this camp? ☐ YES, ☒ NO

Check type of goods to be sold or leased at the commissary: ☐ MEALS; ☐ GROCERIES, ☐ OTHER (SPECIFY)

9A. NAME OF PERSON WHO WILL OPERATE THE COMMISSARY AND ADDRESS AT WHICH HE CAN BE REACHED

None

10. List chief crops, the work to be done, and the wage rates the *WORKERS* will be paid for each type of work on each crop.

10A. CHIEF CROPS	10B. WORK TO BE DONE	10C. RATES TO *WORKERS* PER BUSHEL, HOUR, ETC.
Tomatoes	Harvest	15¢ per 5/8 Bu.
Day Labor	Various Crops	$1.45 Per Hour

11. WHEN WILL WAGES BE PAID?
☐ DAILY
☒ WEEKLY
☐ EVERY TWO WEEKS

12. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING WAGES

Andrea Espinosa Crew leader

13. Will workers receive any bonus? ☐ YES; ☒ NO

13A. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR PAYING BONUS

None

14. EXPLAIN HOW BONUS WILL BE EARNED, HOW MUCH BONUS WILL BE, AND WHEN IT WILL BE PAID

None

15. WILL WORKERS BE CHARGED FOR ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW? ☐ YES, ☒ NO. 15A. IF YES ENTER NAME AND ADDRESS OF PERSON WHO WILL MAKE EACH CHARGE AND LIST CHARGES BELOW

15B. AMOUNT OF CHARGE (INDICATE WHETHER PER PERSON, PER FAMILY ETC., BY DAY, WEEK, PER MEAL, ETC.)

MEALS	None
ROOM (RENT)	"
ELECTRICITY OR FUEL	"
TRANSPORTATION TO N.Y. STATE	"
TRANSPORTATION FROM N.Y. STATE	"
OTHER TRANSPORTATION	"
OTHER CHARGES (EXPLAIN)	"

16. Will workers be covered by Workmen's Compensation Insurance? ☒ YES; ☐ NO By Farmers' Liability Insurance? ☐ YES; ☒ NO

16A. NAME AND POSITION OF PERSON WHO WILL PAY FOR THE POLICY

Jensen Farms Grower

APPROVAL OF THIS APPLICATION DOES NOT PERMIT EMPLOYMENT CONTRARY TO ANY APPLICABLE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

LS 113.1 (4-70)

YOU MUST COMPLETE AND SIGN THIS FORM ON THE REVERSE SIDE

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chidsey, for coming here.

I think it is very difficult to understand, but we have to arrange these witness schedules weeks in advance many times. Hearings are very hard to arrange and have tight agendas. We must also work within the schedules of other members of the committee, other committee meetings, and business on the floor of the Senate.

As I said earlier, we would have been glad to reschedule you. I think it is very hard to understand, unless you have worked around here, how difficult it is to comply with something seemingly as simple as the request of someone who just arrived as you did. I am glad you spoke up and that we were able to hear your testimony.

After all, in a democracy that is what we are about.

I am glad that you came here, I am glad that you made this statement. And I am grateful to you. Is there something else you want to say?

Mr. CHIDSEY. I understand the procedures of the committee. I just did not come yesterday, I came Tuesday. I have been in touch with Mr. Chertkov, counsel to the subcommittee. Tuesday afternoon a reporter called me who said, "Who will be here on Friday?" I said "I am not sure. I want to be one of those." I have been on his back ever since not for what I have to say because Harland Chidsey is saying it, but these things need to be said.

The committee seems to have a pessimistic view and I would suggest that the committee should represent all segments of this country.

By such you would recognize the good job many are doing and hold this up to others to do likewise.

Senator MONDALE. That is fair. Thank you very much.

We will insert your full statement in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Chidsey follows:)

Grower Packer Shipper
Quality Produce
Harland W. Chidsey Farms
R.D. 1, Penn Yan, N.Y. 14527
Code 315 536-6643

Senator Mondale and members of your committee, ladies and gentlemen. I am Harland Chidsey, 46, of Penn Yan, New York.

In the operation of my 280 acre vegetable crop farm, I have used and housed migratory labor for the last 20 years.

To represent myself as God's gift to the migrant before this hearing would be inconceivable. But rather to be myself and express to you my beliefs and philosophy towards my fellow man regardless of his station in life and the hue of his skin. One's beliefs and actions today are tempered by the profit and loss factor, agriculture is no exception and neither am I. From the first use of migrant labor I found that they are not cheap labor, but that their ability to do weeding, picking and packing of vegetable crops was essential to me.

The first crop was planted and growing, the people were coming, where do you put them? How much do you pay them? That chicken house was the newest building on the farm at that time. Scrubbed, disinfected, and painted with one addition for a kitchen and another for two flush toilets and two showers, curtains and our home T. V. (the workers had it in the summer and we had the set in the winter). We were said to have had one of the first camps with flush toilets, I know it was the first chicken house to have his and her showers.

The first wages were about 80 cents per hour with a piece work rate of 10 cents per bushel for picking green tomatoes, figured at 10 hours per day this was 300 per cent more than these workers made in the south at that time. Free rent and fire wood were furnished.

Sensing a need to protect the workers and myself in case of work-connected accidents, New York State Compensation coverage was carried and paid for by me from the second year on. About fifteen years before compensation became mandatory in New York State for many farm workers.

I have personally introduced resolutions at the county level of Farm Bureau to cover all farm labor in the state regardless of a farmer's payroll (it is now only mandatory for all farmers with payrolls over $1200.00 per year).

The first few years of operating a camp was a time of learning for both myself and the workers. I found that they could do many or all jobs that my farm needed. Tractor driving, supervising and truck driving. In order to maintain steady work and wages, I would stagger the workers' arrival and departure in accordance with their wishes and my needs.

Some workers in those years returned to my farm as many as seven years. Many years the turnover of personnel would be less than 20 per cent.

Yes, we had behavior problems, cleanliness, adjustments and community concerns. Many of these type problems are still with us today.

One has to be employer, negotiator, peace officer, nurse, and public relations man to run a labor camp.

Wages over the years have been raised voluntarily by me to be competitive with other jobs through negotiations with the employees and to be above any miminums enacted by governmental edicts.

New York State has been interested in and inspecting labor camps and the treatment given migratory labor for all the years that I have operated a camp. Their concerns have been health, housing, fire hazards, education and wage payment practices. I am proud that my state has led the way in these areas.

One concern of the state was fire resistant material on the inside walls of camps. This regulation was enforced on a downward sliding scale according to the number of residents in a camp. Starting with camps over 150 persons and all new structures, down to camps with 12 or over in about five years. (Now it covers all camps---would your house pass?) In this approach growers knew it was coming and had time to make financial arrangements to comply.

For many years all departmental groups with interest in migratory labor made a five-meeting tour of the state to explain changes in laws and regulations concerning camp operations. The farmers were kept informed and the department personnel learned from the growers in order to realistically approach future problems.

In recent years my employees have favored chili, hot peppers and tortillas over chops, neck bone and black-eyed peas. The size of my camp is now the main building which has been refurbished three times, plus nine smaller family type buildings and a new larger shower and toilet building. The camp can hold up to 45 people under the state regulations.

Over the years we have worked closely with the state and federal farm labor people in procuring workers and in trying to keep the worker busy in more than one area or state.

Our local churches and medical people have provided a "House of Concern" for any people who might need help. Recently opened is a clinic that is available to migrant and local persons. I have always looked to the churches as a source of help if an emergency arose in conjunction with my camp.

Public health resources have always been available to the migrants of our area--letting the migrant pay according to his resources and keep claim to his dignity.

To bring this committee up to date on my own and local wage rates, I am enclosing certificates of intent which are sent to or presented each worker before work is started.

Much of my statement has been on my operation. I will say that 80 per cent of New York State camps are as good as or better than mine and that pay schedules match or are better than mine.

In 1960 the country was shocked by the plight of the migrant as depicted by N.B.C's "Harvest of Shame". I was concerned at the onesidedness of that presentation. It also spurred me on to do even better by my workers.

Now we have the sequel by N.B.C. that shows even more bias and onesidedness. Surely I am concerned with the humanitarian problems. I am aware that if other growers are not paying the price for labor or providing adequate living facilities that these growers or processors have an unfair advantage over me at the market place.

When Mr. Huntley spoke that the migrants' lot had not improved over the last ten years, he is false. When a man of his supposed stature, employed by a large net work, flagrantly omits the large number of growers and processors who have conscientiously provided good to excellent housing and fair wages to migratory farm workers, he should be censored by all.

I have always felt that telling both sides of a subject was an American trait. What do you think?

Each person who has worked for me must verify my honesty and sincerity in my dealings with them. I would hasten to add that there is a power greater than any of us to judge our treatment of our fellow man. With this in mind, I submit that I have never exploited any person knowingly. I am but one of a great number of camp operators over the country that can say this.

Respectfully submitted,

July 24, 1970

Senator MONDALE. Since we seem to be going on, and on, and on here, Mr. Pierce, of the National Sharecroppers Fund, in addition to submitting your written testimony, would you like a minute or two to make a brief oral statement?

We will be glad to hear from Mr. Pierce.

STATEMENT OF JAMES M. PIERCE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, NEW YORK

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I will make it just a minute or two. With your permission I would like to submit the total statement for the record.

Senator MONDALE. It will appear as though read.

Mr. PIERCE. Very good.

Just one statement, sir. If a migrant appeared before this committee and said he is worse off then he was 10 years ago, he is telling you the truth.

If he tells you that housing, and health, and education, and wages, and working conditions are worse than they were 10 years ago, he's telling you the truth.

I have worked the fields and I have watched migrants for over 20 years in Texas, California, Florida. I have been with them day after day and week after week and month after month.

Conditions are bad. I don't think they are going to be corrected by the growers themselves.

Senator MONDALE. In your opinion was the NBC documentary biased?

Mr. PIERCE. I don't think it told all of the truth. I think it was understated. I think it was going too far toward being fair because I have seen conditions much worse than that, what he showed on that film.

One statement I do want to make in answer to Mr. Wedgworth's accusations that I lied about his housing.

I would like to describe in detail, time does not permit it, but I would like to say that as of 10 or 11 o'clock last night I checked with my contact in Belle Glade, and he certified that the conditions were as I have put in the statement.

I recognize, Mr. Chairman, you know changes can be made awfully fast, especially when the grower is motivated properly, but I don't think they can be made that fast.

Senator MONDALE. Have you seen that housing personally?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir. I worked in Bell Glade in 1966 and 1967 as coordinator for the industrial union department for an organizing campaign.

Senator MONDALE. How yould you characterize housing there?

Mr. PIERCE. Terrible. Filthy. A disgrace. His and a lot of others there. I have never seen so many flies, so much filth, as many rats.

The outside toilets run over and people wade right through it to get to them. One john for 40 or 50 or a hundred people.

And in the field it is even worse, Mr. Chairman, because there are none, and they use the same vegetables that we eat.

Senator MONDALE. No field toilets?

Mr. PIERCE. No. That is right. Many, many places there are no field toilets.

Senator MONDALE. We talk about pride. We wonder how much pride a fieldworker can have under such conditions.

Mr. PIERCE. I don't feel they can do much more than uprise. They do have real pride. I don't like to hear people say they are lazy. I have traveled with them from south Florida to Travers City, Mich., and I lived with them all one summer.

There is not a harder working, more dedicated, honest bunch of people in the world. They are being exploited and nobody is doing a thing about it.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mr. Pierce, for your testimony and for your fine work. We appreciate your statement. I regret we don't have more time.

Thank you very much.

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is James M. Pierce. I am executive director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, whose principal offices are in New York, with field operations in Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and elsewhere.

Since its inception 33 years ago, the National Sharecroppers Fund and members of its board and staff have been concerned about the horrible conditions under which the rural poor exist. Many times we have appeared before committees such as this one, detailing those conditions and asking for relief. Unfortunately, in most cases, relief has not been forthcoming.

I, personally, have just about reached the point where I feel that further appearances before governmental committees dealing with the plight of migrant and seasonal farmworkers and related agricultural problems are a waste of time.

For the last 35 years, people have been coming to Congress seeking a better standard of living and fair treatment for working people. In many cases they have been successful. Congress has provided a minimum wage for industrial workers, but not for most farmworkers. Congress has provided unemployment compensation for industrial workers, but not for farmworkers. Congress has guaranteed the right to organize into unions to industrial workers, but not to farmworkers, and on, and on, and on. Because industrial workers had the right to organize, they have been able to negotiate hospital and life insurance, vacations, holidays, and fair working conditions, but not farmworkers.

What do farmworkers get? Every 10 years America's conscience barely open its eyes and someone produces a documentary, people become stirred up for a short period of time, hearings are held, and then it goes back to sleep for another 10 years.

Gentlemen, I originally had no intention, or desire, to testify before your committee. Then. something happened. One of my staff who was investigating migrant conditions in Florida called me. He told me that there was a widespread effort being made by the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Growers Association to suppress the NBC documentary, "Migrant: White Paper." He told me of pictures being circulated by George Wedgworth that would "knock the committee and NBC for a loop." He also told me of threats and coercion against migrant families.

I decided he should not be allowed to do this. I decided that a full investigation should be conducted. I contacted friends and associates from a previous campaign waged in Florida in 1966 and 1967. I sent additional staff into the area. I decided to bring my findings to you.

Gentlemen, George Wedgworth, who has come to testify before this subcommittee today, is a powerful man. As head of the Sugar Cane Growers Cooperative, as a large operator and owner of agriculture and other business interests in Florida, and as a member of the board of the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Growers Association, of which he is the past president, Mr. Wedgworth exercises considerable influence over the economy and government of Florida. He is in a position to help the migrant or perpetuate his bondage. All the evidence shows that he has chosen the latter alternative.

For months, Mr. Wedgworth, in his capacity as a member of the growers association, has been claiming that the NBC documentary "Migrant: White Paper" is a biased and unfair depiction of the migrant's plight and does injustice to the growers in Florida by placing blame on them for the workers poverty and misery. His assault was launched prior to the airing of the show, indicating that he either knew what was in the show that he objected to, or did not care, or was predisposed to close his mind to any other view but his own.

As part of his attack, Mr. Wedgworth has argued that the migrant's life has improved and that the growers are partly responsible for this progress in bettering the migrant's lot since Edward R. Murrow presented his documentary "Harvest of Shame." To make his case, he has pictures of new housing, glowing reports about new welfare programs, and alleges that plans for new reforms are imminent. From my personal experience, investigations, and conversations with concerned citizens in Florida, I feel compelled to set the record straight:

First, conditions have not improved for the migrant in Florida over the past decade. In fact, it is arguable that his condition has worsened.

Second, Mr. Wedgworth's documentation of progress in Florida is in some respects a sham and this subcommittee should not allow him to sell his fairy tales, dressed in pictures and glowing rhetoric, either to the subcommittee or the Nation.

Third, Mr. Wedgworth himself runs a labor camp in Belle Glade that is so deplorable that it is ironic for him to come as a spokesman for progress and a debunker of the NBC documentary. It is even more ironic since his conservative influence over Florida politics has impeded necessary reform.

We must all recognize that Mr. Wedgworth and the Florida Fruit & Vegetable Growers Association together constitute an agribusiness, governmental complex which perpetuates the "Harvest of Shame." And not least important, his threats and intimidation of NBC affiliates nearly prevented the truth from being told. Mr. Wedgworth, far from being a humanitarian, in my opinion, is a spokesman for the politics of selfishness, bias, and human misery. Let me be specific.

Before Mr. Wedgworth tells this subcommittee about programs and plans to improve the living conditions of migrants in Florida, he must be asked to explain what improvements he intends to provide migrants housed on his own acreage. Some of this land, I am told, is owned by his mother, Mrs. Ruth Wedgworth, who, by the way, was a principal debunker of Murrow's "Harvest of Shame" as the Congressional Record of 1961 documents. In any event, owner or operator, Mr. Wedgworth is responsible for the following conditions:

Despite the fact that Mr. Wedgworth was one of the most successful growers in terms of profits during the last year in Palm Beach County, he runs a deplorable labor camp on his property for celery workers. This large green barracks, euphemistically named "Wedgworth's Great White House" defies description. Located on State Road 80, in rural Belle Glade, the "Great House" is a two-story monstrosity which houses over 200 workers during the cutting season which lasts for 7 months, from November through May. Migrant and seasonal farmworkers, who work in the Wedgworth fields doing the backbreaking labor of pulling and cutting celery are crowded into this two-story building. Constructed in 1936, it contains single rooms for small families and two-room quarters for larger families. A separate building contains bathroom facilities, one for men and one for women. Each has five stalls. Two shower spigots, one for the men and one for women, serve the whole camp. To reach the bathroom, tenants must leave the building, often trek through mud to overflowing johns. Because of the distance, tenants often use slop buckets in their rooms, which they empty in the morning or when they can gain access. Wash basins are located 25 yards east in a shed. There are no recreation facilities for the children; there is no grass; the building is infested with roaches and rats. Flies and other insects swarm around the area. The building has no fire escape.

Mr. Wedgworth will tell you that this housing is provided free to the workers. It is quite a luxury, as the tenants made clear in an article in the Pompano Beach Post on July 23, 1970. As Hattie Bell Bush said, she has eight children and they live in two small rooms. An 11-month-old baby and another child sleep in the kitchen. She said her second floor roof leaks when it rains. "I asked someone to get me some more room," she is quoted as saying, "but they told me I couldn't have it." And to get in this camp, you have to work for Mr. Wedgworth. To inspect it, you need his permission. As of this date, the Pompano Beach County Health Department inspector states that Wedgworth does not have an operational permit for the facility because it violates county housing regulations. Yet it remains open, free to those who work in celery for the benefit of Mr. Wedgworth. Oh, by the way, about 250 yards from the "Great White House" is Mr. Wedgworth's own quarters, a handsome ranch house. You travel a paved road to reach it. To get to the "Great White House," you turn right off of Highway 80 and travel down a dirt road and arrive in the squalor just described.

How else does Mr. Wedgworth help the migrants? A few examples will suffice. For one, after the rains and frost ruined some of this past season's crop in Florida, during March through May of this year, the Rural Organization Coalition (ROC), a coalition of organizations working to better the conditions of farmworkers, requested emergency relief for workers because so many of them had been made jobless by the weather. Mr. Wedgworth personally claimed that there was no need for disaster relief because there was plenty of work. The relief did not come, yet wage loss figures just released for the past season show that employees lost over $10 million in wages.

For another, Mr. Wedgworth sits on the board of directors of South Florida Rural Legal Services, which has attempted to engage in law reform efforts to benefit the migrant. Mr. Wedgworth has consistently fought this program from the inside, trying to destroy its law reform efforts. Recently, an attorney in the program investigated charges by young blacks of police brutality. Wedgworth has since convinced the board to conduct an investigation into this lawyer's fitness to serve on the attorney staff, all because he was seeking the truth about police racism and harassment of blacks. During 1966 and 1967, Mr. Wedgworth was connected with the growers' use of intimidation and detectives to stop an effort among migrants to organize a union. The Wedgworth family also owns a fertilizer and insecticide business. The insecticides are used in the fields but the warnings on the packages are in English which many migrants do not understand. Rarely is protective equipment used by men in the fields, perhaps because it is unavailable and perhaps because they do not know the danger. Mr. Wedgworth has done one good deed. Finally, last season, he raised the eligible age of those who could work in his celery fields to 17. Before this, children were bending, cutting and pulling celery, a painful, back-breaking task.

With this personal record of benevolence, Mr. Wedgworth comes here today to defend the growers against the documentary. Perhaps he will show the subcommittee a portfolio of housing for migrants and other individuals which he has been showing around in behalf of the growers' association. Those who know this booklet make some telling points:

First, much of the housing is for other individuals, since it is beyond the reach of the seasonal farmworker and especially the migrant.

Second, some of the housing depicted in the photographs gives a false picture of the true state of the housing shown. For example:

One picture shows Baskins Camp, in Boynton County. The pictures are taken from a distance and make the place look adequate. Up close, the viewer would see that the camp contains single concrete rooms, no longer than 10 feet by 12 feet, with one window and one door, with no cooking facilities, no heating, no water, no indoor toilets. Legally, the camp can hold 600 persons but there are more there during the harvesting season. While intended for single men or maybe couples, at the height of the season, large families live in single rooms there.

Another picture shows Flower Growers Camp, owned by a Mr. Mazzoni. The pictures look nice but show only the concrete housing, leaving out the shingle shacks right behind the concrete buildings.

There is a picture of the Farmers Motel on Highway 441, in Del Ray Beach. This camp, like Baskins Camp in Boynton, contains large concrete units with no cooking facilities, heating, indoor toilets. Often eight people live in two tiny rooms with only two twin beds. The camp is owned by Fred Mims, who also owns Fred's Motel. Not only is Mr. Mims getting rent off both of these facilities but he also gouges the occupants by running a commissary at each location. For example, I am told milk which sells for 49 cents a half gallon in a retail outlet sells for 75 cents at the commissary. Bread, which sells for 33 cents outside the camp, sells for 50 cents at the commissary. And, by the way, Ellis Lewis, who lived at Farmer's Motel, and testified about being out of work on the NBC documentary, has been evicted since appearing on the show.

There are also pictures of Osceola and Okeechobee camps. What the pictures do not show is that the latter is for blacks and the former for whites. It is segregated housing.

Finally, there are pictures of the Pompano Beach Farm Labor Camp, rebuilt by the Pompano Beach City Housing Authority in 1969. These are rebuilt shacks. The houses are concrete, look adequate, but are very small inside. Each building contains four units. There is no grass, no street lights, poor garbage collection. The typical unit is one room serving as a living room, kitchen, and bedroom. If a worker wants a separate bedroom, he has to rent a separate unit. Each unit rents for $12 to $16 a week. There are constant complaints about overcharging. A tenant might be confronted with a paper saying he owes $100 or $150 in back rent. So many complaints were lodged that HUD, which put money in the project, has recently conducted an investigation. The results have not been disclosed. The camp is run with a tight hand by a board, consisting of two farmers and four businessmen. A promise to appoint a representative from the tenant community has never been honored by the city. Evictions are common yet there is no formal grievance mechanism. Moreover, though this housing serves 1,500 persons, it is no way meets the housing needs in the area. Surrounding camps, in decrepit conditions, and filled during the harvesting season, exemplify this point. And while this may be new housing, it does not mean that there is an increase in housing. Old houses are being torn down and replaced with new on about a 1 to 1 basis and may even decrease the amount of housing for the farm workers since some of the new housing is beyond the means of the migrant.

Running a building for workers without a permit and waving pictures which falsely depict housing conditions in Florida for the migrant, Mr. Wedgworth screams bias at NBC as his mother did 10 years ago about "Harvest of Shame." More than scream, Wedgworth has threatened. As the Pompano Beach Post points out on July 15, 1970, the growers' association threatened to seek license revocation of any station airing the NBC documentary. The threat worked in Dallas-Fort Worth, Tex., where WBAP did not air the show last Thursday. Was Mr. Wedgworth concerned about bias or that the truth would be aired?

It is my understanding that the growers' association has asked NBC for equal time to answer the documentary. Whether this is granted or not by NBC, the association, in the person of Mr. Wedgworth, is here today to present its side of the story. It will tell its version of the truth. NBC has told its version of the truth. In my opinion, neither really presents the truth, that is, the simple fact that the conditions of the migrants in Florida are worse than described in the documentary and perhaps worse than conditions prevailing 10 years ago: Real wages are down because of inflations, fewer jobs are available because of mechanization, outward mobility because of the age of technology is almost impossible.

Gentlemen, we could talk about all of the accidents that occur to the migrants—both on the job and on the road; accidents not covered by liability of workmen's compensation insurance. But you have heard about this. We could talk about the children who should be in school but who instead work in the fields because their income is needed. But you have heard this. We could talk about inadequate health, sanitation, and welfare. But you have heard this. That is not why I am here today.

My only reason for being here today is to set the record straight: To insure that equal time does not mean "whitewash." In my opinion, it is really the migrant who needs equal time—and more than that, equal opportunity in the form of collective bargaining rights, responsible government programs for housing, health, education, workmen's compensation and all the other benefits most of us take for granted. But why go on? This is known by you, it is contained in countless hearings and documents. It echoes in my ears. All that is real is that the migrant continues to be denied equal protection under law and the opportunity to shape his own destiny. The question I leave for this committee is: When are things going to change? Because until they do, this hearing amounts to more sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator MONDALE. In view of the testimony we have received in the past 3 days of hearings on whether conditions of farmworkers have changed in the past 30 years, I order printed in the record a copy of reports on farmworkers, including the Tolan Committee on Interstate Migration of 1941, the President's Commission on Migratory Labor of 1951, and a followup report made by a member of that Commission, William Noble Clark, and comments of historical importance from Prof. Paul Taylor, who has long studied the problem.

(The information referred to follows:)

76th Congress } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { Report
3d Session } { No. 3113

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

January 2, 1941.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed

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Mr. Tolan, from the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, submitted the following

PRELIMINARY REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 63, 76th Cong., 3d sess.]

The select committee of five members of the House, appointed pursuant to House Resolution No. 63, to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation, submits the following preliminary report:

Introductory Statement

House Resolution No. 63 was enacted by unanimous consent on April 22, 1940.

Under authority of the foregoing resolution, Speaker William B. Bankhead appointed the following committee to conduct the inquiry provided for by said resolution: Messrs. John H. Tolan of California, chairman; Claude V. Parsons, of Illinois; John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska; and Frank C. Osmers, Jr., of New Jersey; the first three being members of the Democratic Party and the last two being members of the Republican Party, the two major political divisions of the House of Representatives.

The resolution provided as follows:

> *Resolved*, That the Speaker appoint a select committee of five Members of the House, and that such committee be instructed to inquire into the interstate migration of destitute citizens, to study, survey, and investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across State lines, obtaining all facts possible in relation thereto which would not only be of public interest but which would aid the House in enacting remedial legislation, and shall have the right to report at any time. In the event the committee transmits its report at a time when the House is not in session, a record of such transmittal shall be entered in the proceedings of the Journal and Congressional Record of the House on the opening day of the next session of Congress and shall be numbered and printed as a report of such Congress.
>
> That said select committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the

United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpena or otherwise, and to take such testimony as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U. S. C., title 2, sec. 192).

Pursuant to said resolution, a comprehensive investigation in respect to such matters was conducted by said select committee. Public hearings were begun on July 29, 1940, in New York City.

Twenty-four days of hearings were held, 352 witnesses were heard, the work of the committee was conducted without using the subpena power conferred on it, and testimony was taken in seven regions of the country as follows: On July 29, 30, and 31, the committee heard testimony in New York City; on August 14, 15, and 16 in Montgomery, Ala.; on August 19, 20, and 21 in Chicago, Ill.; on September 16, 17 in Lincoln, Nebr.; on September 19 and 20 in Oklahoma City, Okla.; on September 24 and 25 in San Francisco; and on September 28 in Los Angeles, Calif.; on November 29 and on December 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11 in Washington, D. C.

In the course of the investigation conducted by the committee a record of more than three million words of testimony, oral and written, was received, and printed volumes of the testimony are now appearing, the first four regional hearings having been completed to date. A final report of the committee and a lengthy technical supplement are now in process of preparation, and it is for the completion of this report that the committee is requesting an extension of time, not to exceed 3 months. Testimony taken at the Washington hearings alone was equal in volume to that received in any three regional hearings. The last day of Washington hearings was December 11. The committee is impressed with the necessity of further analyzing this great volume of material and especially with the need for study of the recent Washington hearings. This is the basis for its request for an extension of time before making its final report.

The House of Representatives on May 21, 1940, pursuant to House Resolution 491, appropriated the sum of $20,000 to provide for the expenses of the investigation. On November 18, 1940, after the committee had held 16 days of field hearings throughout the country, but before it began its series of 8 days of Washington hearings, the House of Representatives, by House Resolution 629, authorized an additional appropriation of $3,000 to provide for further expenses of conducting the investigation and study authorized by House Resolution 63. Approximately one-third of the second appropriation is available and would provide for any expenses contingent upon the continuation of the committee for the requested 90-day period.

COMMITTEE WITNESSES

At the New York City hearing the committee heard 42 witnesses, including experts on migration, administrators dealing with the problem, and persons who were victims of difficulties resulting in migration. With the exclusion of migrants the witnesses are listed below in the order of their appearance: Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Mayor, New York City, and chairman, United States Conference of Mayors; Dr. Frank Lorimer, professor of population studies, the American University, Washington, D. C.; Bertha McCall, general director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York City; C. George Kreuger, deputy commissioner of labor and chairman of New Jersey Conference of State Departments on Migratory Labor, Trenton, N. J.; William H. MacDonald, State department of health, Trenton, N. J.; Maj. Charles F. Schoeffel, deputy superintendent of New Jersey State Police, Trenton, N. J.; Russell C. Eldridge, director, New Jersey State Employment Service, Trenton, N. J.; H. J. Lepper, administrative assistant, New Jersey State Employment Service, Trenton, N. J.; José M. Vivaldi, chief, Puerto Rican Office, Department of Labor, New York City; Glen Leet, administrator of public assistance, Rhode Island State Department of Social Welfare, Providence, R. I.; James J. Wadsworth, assemblyman from Livingston County, N. Y., and member of State joint legislative committee on interstate cooperation, Geneseo, N. Y.; Frank W. Goodhue, director, division of aid and relief, Massachusetts State Department of Public Welfare, Boston, Mass.; James Hill, farmer of Mercer County, Hightstown, N. J.; Clayton S. Squires, director of State aid, Connecticut State Department of Welfare, Hartford, Conn.; Ralph Astrofsky, director, division of shelter care, Department of Welfare, New York, N. Y.; Benjamin Sprafkin, chairman of section on unattached and homeless, welfare council, New York, N. Y.; David C. Adie, commissioner of social welfare, State of New York, Albany, N. Y.; James C. Ewart, president of State board of agriculture, Cranbury, N. J.; Ruth Taylor, commissioner of welfare, Westchester County, Valhalla, N. Y.; Gladys Dickason, director, research department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York, N. Y.; Edith E. Lowry, executive secretary, Council of Women for Home Missions, New York, N. Y.; Hon. Caroline O'Day, Representative at Large from the State of New York, Rye, N. Y.; Nathaniel A. Snyder, consultant on residence, department of public assistance, Philadelphia, Pa.; J. Fletcher Agnew, director, Confidential Bureau, Salvation Army, New York, N. Y.; Howard A. Lett, director, Urban League of New Jersey, Newark, N. J.; Robert Lafferty, assistant director of attendance, board of education, Philadelphia, Pa.; Arthur J. Edwards, chairman, subcommittee on migratory child labor, Congregational and Christian Churches, Montclair, N. J.

At the Montgomery, Ala., hearings the committee took testimony from 40 witnesses including experts, administrators, and victims of the conditions which cause interstate migration. The expert and administrator witnesses in the order of their appearance were: Dr. Luther N. Duncan, president of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala., representing Gov. Frank Dixon; Howard Gray, president, Alabama Farm Bureau Federation, New Market, Ala.; Dr. Rupert B. Vance, professor of sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.; P. O. Davis, chairman, extension service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.; Prof. T. M. Campbell, field agent, United States Farm Extension Service, Tuskegee, Ala.; Dr. Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University, University, La.; A. Frederick Smith, chief, department of research and statistics, Florida Industrial Commission, Tallahassee, Fla.; Clarence R. Bitting, president, United

States Sugar Corporation, Clewiston, Fla.; John Beecher, supervisor, Florida Migratory Labor Camps, Farm Security Administration, Montgomery, Ala.; John A Dulaney, mayor of Pahokee, Fla.; Dr. William H. Weems, county physician, Palm Beach County, West Palm Beach, Fla.; Read Dunn, secretary-manager, Delta Council, Stoneville, Miss.; James Hand, Jr., president of Delta Council, Stoneville, Miss.; Homer C. McNamara, superintendent, Delta Experiment Station, Stoneville, Miss.; H. L. Mitchell, secretary, Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Memphis, Tenn.; Dr. F. D. Patterson, president, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; Loula Dunn, commissioner, public welfare, State of Alabama, Montgomery, Ala.; John E. Bryan, State administrator, National Youth Administration, Birmingham, Ala.; Myron Falk, technical assistant, bureau of public assistance and child welfare, Baton Rouge, La.; E. S. Morgan, regional director, region V, Farm Security Administration, Montgomery, Ala.; L. S. Fluker, Alabama State Agricultural Adjustment Administration; Sam Morgan, area conservationist, Soil Conservation Service, Montgomery, Ala.; Gerald Harris, vice president, Alabama Farmers Union, Green Pond, Ala.; Dr. H. H. Chapman, director, bureau of business research, University of Alabama, University, Ala.; Preston Valien, department of social science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; E. M. Norment, district manager, Tennessee StateEmployment Service, Memphis, Tenn.; Joseph F. Gelders, acting executive secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Trussville, Ala.

At Chicago, Ill., the committee in the course of its hearings had before it 49 witnesses including experts, administrators, and destitute migrants. Appearing as experts, administrators, or concerned public officials were: Hon. Edward J. Kelly, mayor of the city of Chicago; Neil H. Jacoby, chairman, Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, also representing Gov. Henry Horner; Leo M. Lyons, commissioner, Chicago Relief Administration, Chicago, Ill.; Edward Schils, department of sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Harry C. Nail, Jr., research consultant, attorneys general section, Council of State Governments, Chicago, Ill.; Dorothy B. de la Pole, staff associate, National Travelers' Aid Association, New York, N. Y.; Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Ben Deming, State supervisor, field-office operations, unemployment compensation division, Indianapolis, Ind.; William G. Murray, professor of agricultural economics, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; W. A. Rowlands, professor of land economics, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; M. W. Torkelson, executive officer, Wisconsin State Planning Board, Madison, Wis.; Raphael Zon, director, Lake States Forest Experiment Station, St. Paul, Minn.; Charles B. Marshall, director, division of general administration, Indiana Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Ind.; Howard David Gould, director of industrial relations and research, Chicago Urban League, Chicago, Ill.; Frayser T. Lane, director of social and civic department, Chicago Urban League, Chicago, Ill.; H. W. Morganthaler, administrative assistant, State department of public welfare, Columbus, Ohio; W. R. Sullinger, farm placement supervisor, Ohio State Employment Service, Columbus, Ohio; P. G. Beck, director, region III, Farm Security Administration, Indianapolis, Ind.; Edith Abbott, dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Paul L. Stanchfield, chief, research statistics and planning section, Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission, Lansing, Mich.; George Friday, farm owner from Berrien County, Mich.; Marguerite Dwan, Benton Harbor, Mich.; M. C. Henderson, representative, Beet Growers' Employment Committee, Saginaw, Mich.; G. B. Osborne, farmer, Superior, Wis.; Dr. P. M. Koppa, director of division of tuberculosis, Michigan Department of Health, Lansing, Mich.

At the hearing in Lincoln, Nebr., the committee heard 44 witnesses, including experts, administrators, and victims of conditions resulting in migration. The expert and administrative witnesses who appeared, listed in the order of their appearance, were: Gov. R. L. Cochran of Nebraska; W. H. Brokaw, director, Nebraska Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, Nebraska; Donald Hay, area leader, division of farm population and rural welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Lincoln, Nebr.; E. A. Willson, executive director, public welfare board, Bismarck, N. Dak., representing Gov. John Moses; on a panel concerning Farm Security Administration, Cal. A. Ward, director, region VII, Lincoln, Nebr.; and C. H. Willson, director, region X, Denver, Colo.; Paul D. Benner, director, bureau of public assistance, State Department of Social Welfare, Topeka, Kans., representing Gov. Payne H. Ratner; Harry J. Krusz, general manager, Lincoln Chamber of Commerce, Lincoln, Nebr.; John A. Hopkins, associate professor, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa; John C. Page, Commissioner, Bureau of Reclamation, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.; E. B. Debler, hydraulic engineer, Bureau of Reclamation, Denver, Colo.; E. H. Aicher, Chief, Institutional Adjustments Division, Soil Conservation Service, Lincoln, Nebr.; Willkie Collins, Jr., assistant regional geologist, Soil Conservation Service, Lincoln, Nebr.; H. E. Engstrom, State Coordinator, Soil Conservation Service, Lincoln, Nebr.; Glenn A. Bryant, assistant vice-president, Union Central Life Insurance Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; B. G. DeWeese, director of farm management, Union Central Life Insurance Co., Cincinnati, Ohio; Alfred R. Barnes, chairman, South Dakota Agricultural Conservation Committee; C. E. Alter, farmer and businessman, Alma, Nebr.; Clyde Johnson, U. C. A. P. A. W. A. representative, Denver, Colo.; T. J. Howard, county attorney, Greeley, Nebr.; W. F. Kumlein, professor of rural sociology, South Dakota State College, Brookings, S. Dak.; and Dr. H. E. Glatfelter, retired physician and farmer, Central City, Nebr.

At the Oklahoma City, Okla., hearing 50 witnesses appeared before the committee including a panel of 13 experts who were in attendance in connection with the testimony of Gov. Leon C. Phillips, who presented them to the committee as coauthors of his prepared statement. Other expert or administrative witnesses who testified were: Edwin R. Henson, coordinator, Southern Great Plains, Department of Agriculture, Amarillo, Tex.; J. H. Bond, assistant director, Texas State Employment Service, Austin, Tex.; E. H. Banks and Robert N. McKinley, farm placement supervisors, Texas State Employment Service, Austin, Tex.; M. C. Gonzales, counselor to the consul-general of Mexico, San Antonio, Tex.; Mrs. Val M. Keating, assistant director, Division of Unemployment, Work Projects Administration, San Antonio, Tex.; C. M. Evans, regional director, Farm Security Administration, Dallas, Tex.; T. J. Cauley and G. S. Klemmedson, Soil Conservation Service, Fort Worth, Tex.; C. O. Brannen, department of rural economics, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.; William H. Metzler, College of Agriculture, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.; Brooks Hays, regional attorney, Farm Security Administration, Little Rock, Ark.; J. C. Rapp, representative of Agricultural Council of Arkansas, McGehee, Ark.; Gov. Leon C. Phillips of Oklahoma; C. B. Bee, special counselor, State corporation commission, Tulsa, Okla.; Dr. Henry G. Bennett, president, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Okla.; O. D. Duncan, professor of rural sociology, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Stillwater, Okla.; H. H. Champlin, banker and oil operator, Enid, Okla.; Milton B. Williams, manager, southwestern loan department, Aetna Life Insurance Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.: Otis Nation, State director, Oklahoma Tenant Farmers Union, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Mrs. G. H. Waddy, United Provident Association, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Wheeler Mayo, editor, Sequoyah County Times, Sallisaw, Okla.; Clarence Roberts, editor, Oklahoma Farmer-Stockman, Oklahoma City, Okla.; C. D. Walker, acting administrative officer, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Stillwater, Okla.; J. D. Wrenn, Social Security Board, Kansas City, Mo.; Phyliss Osborn, regional representative and public assistant, Social Security Board, Kansas City, Mo.; Glen Brockaway, regional representative for unemployment security, Social Security Board, Kansas City, Mo.; Tom W. Cheek, president, Oklahoma State Farmers Union, Oklahoma City, Okla.

At the San Francisco, Calif., hearing the committee heard 32 witnesses including experts, administrators, and migrants. The following were the expert and administrative witnesses: Phillip H. Hernandes, labor contractor, Hayward, Calif.; Gov. Culbert L. Olson, Governor of California; Varden Fuller, associate agricultural economist, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Berkeley, Calif.; Dr. William S. Hopkins, Department of Economics, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.; Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, Hollywood, Calif.; Frederick Arpke, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, Berkeley, Calif.; Mrs. Walter A. Knapp, representing California Congress of Parents and Teachers; Dr. William P. Shepard, president Western Branch American Public Health Association; Harrison S. Robinson, C. B. Hutchison, Alfred J. Lundberg and J. R. Benedict, representing the California State Chamber of Commerce; Harold Pomeroy, executive director, Housing Authority of the city and county of Sacramento, Sacramento, Calif.; Dr. Karl Schaupp, representing the Medical Association and the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association, San Francisco, Calif.; Carey McWilliams, chief of the division of immigration and housing, department of industrial relations, State of California, Los Angeles, Calif.; Catherine Bauer, secretary, California Housing Association; L. C. Stoll, director, Oregon State Employment Service, Salem, Oreg.; L. I. Hewes, regional director, Farm Security Administration, San Francisco, Calif.; Walker R. Young, supervising engineer, Central Valley water project; Walter Duffy, regional director, Farm Security Administration, region XI, Portland, Oreg.; E. N. Torbert, Reclamation Service, Ephrata, Wash.; Marion Clawson, field coordinator, United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Spokane, Wash.; Roy M. Pike, farmer, El Solyo ranch, Stanislaus County, Calif.; Edward Howden, California Housing Administration.

Meeting at Los Angeles, Calif., the committee heard 18 witnesses who were competent to testify on various phases of the problem of migration. Mayor Bowron was represented by his administrative assistant, Arlin E. Stockburger, who, with the following, completes the list of the expert and administrative witnesses: Robert B. Robertson, assistant director of industrial relations, Lockheed Aircraft Co., Burbank, Calif.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, general director of Catholic Charities, Los Angeles, Calif.; H. B. Huxley, United States Employment Service, Los Angeles, Calif.; Richard G. Wagenet, California Employment Service, Los Angeles, Calif.; S. G. Rubinow, administrator, California State Relief Administration; Lawrence Schreiber, chief deputy superintendent, Department of Charities, Los Angeles County, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dr. Wendy Stewart, Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles, Calif.; Rev. Clarence Wagner, Los Angeles, Calif. Two papers prepared to accompany a statement from Gov. H. H. Blood, of Utah, were presented for the record because the Governor was unable to appear. Under similar circumstances a statement was entered for the record from the Honorable Harry R. Sheppard, Representative from the Nineteenth California Congressional District.

At its Washington, D. C., hearings, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard; Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; Defense Commissioner Chester C. Davis; Prof. Carter Goodrich, of Columbia University, outstanding expert on migration, and 72 other witnesses, exclusive of migrants, appeared before the committee. The other expert and administrative witnesses, in the order of their appearance before the committee are listed below: J. Russell Young, Commissioner, District of Columbia; Hon. Jennings Randolph, Representative, West Virginia, chairman, committee on the District of Columbia; and Miss Mabel Haller, assistant clerk for that committee; Philip E. Ryan, former executive secretary, Council on Interstate Migration, director, Inquiry and Information Service, American National Red Cross; Robert E. Bondy, director, Public Welfare Board, District of Columbia; David G. Linden, Assistant Director for Non-Resident Service, District of Columbia, Public Assistance Department; Dr. George C. Ruhland, health officer, District of Columbia; William H. Stauffer, commissioner, Virginia Department of Public Welfare, representing Gov. James H. Price, Richmond, Va.; Mrs. John J. O'Connor, chairman, transient committee, Washington Council of Social Agencies; Mrs. Frank A. Linzel, chairman, Family Welfare Division, Council of Social Agencies; Miss Alice E. Jones, executive secretary, Washington Travelers Aid Society; Maj. Charles H. Dodd, divisional commander, the Salvation Army; Charles Houston, associate counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; C. R. Tolley, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Rudolph M. Evans, Administrator, Agricultural Adjustment Administration; Dr. Paul S. Taylor, professor of economics, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; Dr. Walter E. Packard, consultant, United States Department of Agriculture, Berkeley, Calif.; Col. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator, Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor; Ralph Hetzel, Jr., Director of the Unemployment Division, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Fred K. Hoebler, director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Ill.; Hubert R. Gallagher, assistant director, Council of State Governments, Chicago, Ill.; Msgr. John A. Ryan, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Miss Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board; Jack Tate, General Counsel, Federal Security Agency; Glenn E. Jackson, Director of public assistance, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, N. Y.; Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board; Dr. E. R. Coffee, United States Public Health Service; Henry S. Alves, United States Office of Education; Mrs. Roberta C. Williams, staff associate of the National Travelers Aid Association, New York, N. Y.; Rev. Dr. John Carruthers, visiting minister for national service, Covenant First Presbyterian Church; Fred R. Rauch, acting commissioner, Federal Works Agency, Work Projects Administration; Miss Dorothy C. Kahn, assistant executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, New York City; Benjamin C. Marsh, executive secretary, the Peoples' Lobby; Boris Shishkin, director of research, American Federation of Labor; Isador Lubin, Director of Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor; Charles William Eliot, Director of the National Resources Planning Board; Dr. Carl T. Schmidt, professor of economics (on leave from Columbia University); John P. Ferris, Director of the Commerce Department of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn.; David Lasser, president, American Security Union; Leifur Magnusson, chairman, legislative committee, Washington Monday Evening Club; Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Home Missions Council of North America, New York, N. Y.; Ernesto Galarza, Chief, Division of Labor and Social Information, Pan American Union; C. F. Preller, business representative, Local No. 26, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, American Federation of Labor; Millard W. Rice, legislative representative, Veterans of Foreign Wars; Channing Dooley and Dr. Will Alexander, National Defense Advisory Commission; Henry Epstein, solicitor general of New York State, Albany, N. Y.; Morris Shapiro, attorney, New York, N. Y.; Katherine Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Rev. F. Bland Tucker, rector, St. John's Church, Georgetown, D. C., representing Rev. Almon R. Pepper, executive secretary, department of social relations, National Council Protestant Episcopal Church; and David Whatley, attorney.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In connection with the issuance of this preliminary report, the committee wishes to acknowledge the generous assistance furnished by officials of public and private agencies, National, State, and local. In all of its regional hearings, as well as in its recent Washington hearings, the aid rendered by these agencies and individuals was of great value to the committee. Educators, students, and leaders in public thought also have given the committee the advantages of the studies and research they have carried on in this field.

The thorough coverage of the hearings by the press and radio has been a source of gratification to the members of the committee, and they feel that it constitutes an important part in the task of making the public aware of the Nation-wide scope of the migration problem.

PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION

Moving people built America. It is only within the last decade, however, that the press and public have begun to speak of "the problem of migration." It is this peculiar circumstance which accounts for the existence of this committee. At the committee's New York hearing, Prof. Frank Lorimer said:

> Migration is a conspicuous feature, and always has been, of American life. In 1930, 22,000,000 native whites, and 3,000,000 Negroes, nearly a quarter of all of our native-born population, were found living in States outside the State in which they were born.

Something fundamental has occurred to render the haphazard shifts of residence by the average American family a matter for national study and investigation. This change seems to have occurred first in the communities which were the destinations of large numbers of migrants. It is noteworthy that an outcry arose in regions on the Pacific coast and other areas in which popular belief held the greatest economic opportunity to be available. Moreover, widespread concern over the lowering of living standards and the drain on public treasuries occasioned by the necessity of aid to the migrants did not command national attention until the Federal Government had abandoned its program of aid to transients.[1] The Federal transient program was itself a byproduct of the lack of available private aid for increased moving population.

All this reflects the fact that migration became a "problem" when the economic decline set in after 1929. It may well be asked why similar migratory tides have not run in this country during previous periods of depression. The answer would seem to be that in the past such movements have taken place but in response to the development of new economic opportunities in regions of expanding economy which were sufficient to absorb the majority of the moving people. Moreover, in previous periods of depression, the Atlantic Ocean served as a barrier to stem the tide of immigration. A notable feature of the present-day migrant population is its native origin; many migrants who have gone to the Pacific coast are descendants of the oldest white families in the Southeastern and Eastern States.

Students of the problem say that the "push" has displaced the "pull" as the dominant factor making for migration. Those who move now are moving "to get away" from an increasingly insecure situation over which they have little or no control. It has become customary to consider that the great majority of immediate origins of these people are agricultural.

On the contrary, all studies indicate that the greater number of migrants originate in urban communities. Those who leave home for the first time, whether that home is rural or urban, are predominantly normal, worth-while American people. They possess, usually, more than the average amount of initiative. They are searching for useful employment. The vast majority of them are anxious to avoid being supported at public or private expense.

It is important, in this connection, to point out that these people are not necessarily destitute, just because they are migrants. Insofar as they avoid destitution, of course, they stand outside the direct survey of this committee. Necessarily, however, the committee has been engaged in the study of migratory movements of people in general, in order that it might understand the ways in which moving people become destitute. This study has led the committee to investigate both the migrants who move in search of permanent situations and those who follow seasonal occupations.

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[1] Excerpt from statement of Governor Olson, of California, to committee, San Francisco hearing: "How important this service (Federal Transient Service) was in California is indicated by the fact that although California, according to the Census of 1930, had only 4.7 percent of the total population of the Nation, it was found that the California case load of the Federal Transient Service accounted for about 13.5 percent of all transients aided by the service. At times during this period the Federal Transient Service was caring for as many as 38,815 transients in California.

"The abrupt cessation of this service in the fall of 1935 once again created an emergency in California. So grave did the situation become that the then chief of police of the city of Los Angeles established a border patrol at some 16 border stations at which, throughout the months of November and December 1935, and January, February, March, and April 1936, some 125 policemen in the city of Los Angeles were on duty in an effort to turn back all incoming migrants."

RECENT EFFECT OF DEFENSE PROGRAM ON MIGRATION

At the beginning of the year 1941 the country finds itself engaged in a great effort to strengthen its national defenses. When this committee entered upon its investigations in the late spring of 1940, the problem of migration was something to be studied against the background of the decade just closed Today this has been altered by the efforts on behalf of national defense. New streams of migration have been set in motion toward defense projects of all kinds. Populations dammed up in rural areas during the 1930's for lack of expanding opportunities in urban communities are now added to these streams of migration. They are being joined by those who have been unemployed and on relief in cities. In this connection, Miss Jane Hoey, director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, testified at the Washington hearing:

> Today, with the defense industries, and with camps being set up in almost every State, every one of those States has a migrant problem.
>
> So I believe that now there will be a recognition that some people who come in from the outside may be an asset and desirable, and may be necessary in order to have a proper labor supply in connection with the defense industries.
>
> It seems to me, as a matter of fact, a little more sympathetic attitude on the part of the States toward this problem is necessary because it now affects, on so wide a scale, all of the States.
>
> . In the programs which had been developed, both the Federally administered programs and the Federal grants-in-aid programs, I believe we must recognize that all of those together have never met the total needs of the people in distress; that the W. P. A. appropriations have never been large enough to take care of even all of the able-bodied employable people who could not find jobs in private industry; that there was another group of people where there was no employable person in the family or where through some handicap they could not qualify for these programs. There was a large group of both employables and unemployables, and families with no working member who have not had anything except very inadequate provision made for them, nor none at all. It was left entirely to the localities.

The committee is not prepared in this preliminary report to discuss at length effects of defense preparations upon the problems of migration. Most of the testimony taken on this subject was heard at its Washington sessions, held in December 1940. It has become apparent, however, that the final report of this committee must devote considerable attention to the subject of defense.

A related problem of no less importance will arise when the expanding economic activities set in motion by defense industries begin to settle down, especially if this occurs at a point short of full employment. An even more important problem, perhaps, and one less predictable at this time was defined by the representative of the American Federation of Labor at the Washington hearings as "the problem of the aftermath." During the testimony of Boris Shishkin, Director of Research of the American Federation of Labor, the following exchange occurred, showing what Mr. Shishkin meant in his prepared statement by his reference to the "problem of the aftermath":

> Mr. Shishkin. * * *. Earlier in my statement I said that labor migration, as such, under the present system and organization, is normal, and with the developments in industry such as have taken place, some substantial measure of migratory labor will continue, and it is clearly a thing to be expected.
>
> Mr. Parsons. Not only in agriculture, but in industry also?
>
> Mr. Shishkin. Yes.
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> Mr. Parsons. We are being faced with that right now. In the national-defense program, in finding the necessary type of skilled workers to go into high-speed production immediately, that will naturally dislocate a large number of families in the United States. Then, if that should be suddenly stopped, there would be a further dislocation, and they would redistribute themselves, or migrate to their original homes, or somewhere else. So we are having and will continue to have a thorough test of that, to meet the needs of an industrial program.
>
> Mr. Shishkin. This will probably extend further than that, because at the end of defense production there will be a return flow, which will provide a further dislocation and will have a tremendous effect on workers and on the communities. That is one of the most vital things to give attention to at this particular time.

These hypothetical considerations of the future of the migrant problem under the defense program and afterward will be examined in more detail in the committee's final report.

Meanwhile, problems which preceded the advent of the defense program formed the basis for the committee's field hearings held in six different regions of the country from the end of July to the first of October. Circumstances impelling the migration of rural and urban peoples in this last decade cannot be expected to disappear overnight during the expansion of the defense program. Many of these circumstances will, no doubt, be changed for the better, many for the worse. Distortion of economic activity, as between different producing areas, or different industries, is bound to create movement of population, if only temporarily. Testimony received by the committee indicates that rising prices would tend to set in motion an increase in mechanization of agriculture, dislodge more farmers, and close employment to more agricultural laborers.

Migration induced by the defense program will encounter, moreover, difficulties of the same sort as those met by depression-induced migration. An outstanding cause of such difficulties is the trend throughout the country, participated in by State after State, to raise the settlement law requirements so that longer and longer periods are required before a settlement and the right to public assistance can be gained by a newcomer, and shorter and shorter periods elapse before his absence from a State has made a former resident there lose his rights. This point was illustrated during the Chicago hearings by a question from Mr. Osmers directed to Paul L. Stanchfield, Chief of Research Statistics and Planning Section, Michigan Unemployment Commission.

> Mr. Osmers. Mr. Stanchfield, with respect to these rigid settlement laws that apply in nearly every State in the Union, do you think, in the long run, they will have an adverse effect upon the national-defense set-up by having a tendency to freeze people into their native States?
>
> Mr. Stanchfield. The defense program is going to require in the long run—that is, regardless of the fact there are no shortages now, there probably will be shortages of labor in the next year or 6 months. That is going to require much more fluidity of movement of workers from one State to another. If we are going to make it possible for workers to move from one State to another to take a job they are needed in, we ought to give them the same rights in the new community that they would have had in the old community.

> I do foresee quite a danger, both with respect to relief and unemployment compensation, that a worker might move to a new job, more or less in answer to a direct request from the Government, in some activity necessary for defense, and when the job ends, which may be only a few months, he will be turned loose, and he will not have acquired unemployment compensation rights in the new State. He has been away from the old State too long to retain any rights he would have had there. He gets caught right in the middle. He also has no right to public assistance of any kind in the new community.

AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH MIGRATION DURING LAST DECADE

Throughout the last decade the troubles of the moving population have been sufficiently severe to overtax the existing agencies, public and private. Many of these agencies were brought face to face with the migrant for the first time. They were not equipped to meet the demands made upon them. Only the Federal transient program under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, between 1933 and 1935, was directly aimed at aiding the migrant, and it was originally designed to care for unattached homeless individuals, and only later came to handle the moving family group.

Widespread public resistance arose in areas where Federal assistance to transients was thought to exceed the relief available for local residents. This, together with the charge that migration was being encouraged and a new class of transient people being created, weighed heavily with many who moved to abolish the emergency program. Testimony given to this committee by qualified administrators from all fields of relief and public assistance contradicts the popular impression. It was regularly testified that the great majority of migrants today are in search of a new beginning, and ready to work hard and sacrifice much to secure it.

Notable among other Federal agencies which are, in part or in an incidental way, concerned with these moving people is the Farm Security Administration. This agency arose from the report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy and its primary purpose was to assist the poor-farmer group, especially the tenant. Only incidentally did it develop a program of relief for the agricultural laborer or the person seeking a new settlement.

The Farm Security Administration, from the time of its creation, originally as the Resettlement Administration, has been active in various ways in dealing with the migration of rural people. Its program of rural rehabilitation loans has enabled many thousands of families to receive necessary credit to become reestablished in new locations. These rehabilitation loans have been even more important as a means of holding families on the land who otherwise would have been forced to migrate. Direct relief grants in limited number have been made to migratory agricultural workers.

Similarly, but more remotely, the Bureau of Reclamation became aware of the problem of migration in its effort to adjust land uses to human needs. The Pacific Northwest is the chief region where the Bureau of Reclamation has encountered the migrant problem. Likewise, the Farm Security Administration first encountered migrants in region XII, which comprises the States of California, Arizona, Nevada, and Utah.

Even today, after 5 years of development, Farm Security Administration camps for migrants in California and Arizona can handle a maximum capacity of only about 8,500. Estimates vary, but it is generally believed that at the peak of the season California agriculture alone has a demand for well over 100,000 laborers and has an available supply estimated as high as 250,000 people, counting men, women, and children.[2]

Clearly, the housing facilities provided by the Federal Government serve more as an example to others who provide housing than as an adequate supply of housing for the migrant population. However, some additional numbers are reached through the Farm Security Administration grants-in-aid to migrants and the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association, which is privately operated, but has Farm Security Administration representation.

The camp program of the Farm Security Administration is now being demanded by employer groups and others in the States of Texas and Florida, and in these States, as well as in Arizona and California, migrant camps are being established. Surveys show, however, that the group of about 50,000 or more Florida migrants do not all remain within the State, but an increasing number follow the crop seasons north along the Atlantic coast and tend to create the usual serious problems in the communities where their labor is needed. A similar movement of seasonal agricultural laborers is developing between the Appalachians and the Ozarks, on the one hand, and the States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, on the other hand. These are native, white American workers harvesting fruits and vegetables, and they are not to be confused with the earlier established migration of sugar-beet workers, Mexican in origin, most of them residents of Texas who move to Michigan and Colorado each year.

These groups of agricultural migrants create problems for several agencies in the Department of Labor, including the Children's Bureau, the Division of Labor Standards, and, insofar as they work in the processing of agricultural products, the Wage and Hour Division. The Federal Security Agency is involved at many points through the Bureau of Employment Security and its United States Employment Service, which supervises the farm placement services in the various States; the Public Health Service, the Office of Education, and indirectly, the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps, to which the children's group among these migrant families presents a definite problem.

The interstate truck transportation of migrants comes under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Serious abuses have grown up during the last decade in the transportation of these workers and measures for avoiding Federal control of such transportation have been devised by certain employers and labor contractors. These will be described in detail in the committee's final report.

In addition to the agencies which have concerned themselves directly with the problem of migration of rural and urban people, there are a number which are active in the study of a problem which the committee has come to regard equally as serious as that of current migratory movements, namely, the problem of potential migration. With the growing industrialization of agricultural production, nearly half the Nation's farm operators have dropped out of effective participation in the commercial markets. It is from the ranks of this lower one-half of our farm operators that the growing body of landless agricultural laborers are being augmented, as explained in the report of the President's Commission on Farm Tenancy for 1937. Both tenant farmers and agricultural laborers move frequently within a State, especially in the Southeast, in search of new farming opportunities. This intrastate movement is often merely one step removed from interstate migration. It is with these groups in all parts of the country that the Farm Security Administration is expected primarily to concern itself, and for them that its rehabilitation program is designed.

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[2] The California State Chamber of Commerce Report, p. 191, Migrants, a National Problem—And Its Impact on California shows a chart indicating 140,000 workers needed in September of each year. The "low" in March shows less than 50,000 workers required.

Other programs of the Department of Agriculture supplement the work of the Farm Security Administration, on the side of its aid to migrants, or to potential migrants. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics is charged with studying effects of departmental programs as worked out in the field. In addition to its studies of what is happening to resident farmers, it has undertaken to find the causes of agricultural migration and to forecast probable future migratory movements away from areas of surplus population. Notable among these studies is that of the Berkeley (Calif.) office, described by Varden Fuller to this committee at its California hearings, showing that three-fourths of all migrants who entered California during the 1930's went to urban areas, and that only 22 percent of them were of agricultural background. The entire movement to California in the 1930's is estimated at 1,250,000, as against 2,000,000 in the previous decade. The concern aroused by the impact of this smaller influx on California communities suggests the fundamental difference in the effect of population movements in the two decades.

Other bureaus of the Department of Agriculture concerned with one or another aspect of migration include the Farm Credit Administration, the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, the Office of Land-Use Coordination, the Sugar Division, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Certain other problems of migration receive attention from the United States Housing Authority and the Work Projects Administration.

There are in fact at least 40 Government agencies which in some way are involved in the problems of migration. Their work will be examined in the final report. Under the national defense program, agencies not ordinarily involved now find that the problems of migration impinge upon their work. For example, the national defense involves the War and Navy Departments in large-scale migrations to defense plants, navy yards, arsenals, and cantonments. The problem of males, ages 21 to 35, who are without even temporary residence is important to the Selective Service Administration. Within the National Defense Advisory Commission, the Labor Division and the Agricultural Division are especially concerned with labor mobility.

Finally, no listing of Federal agencies concerned with migration would be complete without reference to the Bureau of the Census in the Department of Commerce; indeed, the work undertaken by this committee will require future supplementation on an extensive scale by some agency equipped to analyze the returns from the 1940 census, which will provide for the first time certain national figures on moving population. Earlier studies of the sort which will be included in the committee's final report have been executed by the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget and the National Resources Planning Board, both parts of the Executive Office of the President. The Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities has, of course, made extensive recommendations to the President on the problems of migratory labor as recently as July 1940.

It is beyond the limitations of this preliminary report to present the comprehensive list of the representatives of private agencies who testified before this committee and to analyzo in detail their recommendations for dealing with migration. It should be pointed out here, however, that until 1930 it was the private agencies which were forced to assume the major responsibilities for relieving or correcting many difficulties arising from migration of the destitute. Mr. Philip Ryan in Migration and Social Welfare writes:

> Since the problems connected with population movement make themselves felt throughout the entire scope of social interest and practice, an exhaustive listing of the voluntary agencies concerned would include practically all national organizations devoted to social welfare, health, housing, labor, and similar subjects. In addition to the National Travelers Aid Association and the local travelers aid societies, whose major concern is with the needs of "moving" people, such a list would include:
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> Family and child welfare agencies, such as American National Red Cross, particularly in relation to its welfare services in rural areas; Child Welfare League of America, Family Welfare Association of America.
>
> Health agencies, such as American Public Health Association, American Social Hygiene Association, National Tuberculosis Association.
>
> Agencies concerned with education, such as American Vocational Association, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Education Association of the United States.
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> Agencies providing shelter facilities, such as the Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, youth-serving agencics (such as the Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations) having shelter facilities as part of their larger programs.
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> Agencies concerned with public administration, such as American Public Welfare Association, Council of State Governments, Public Administration Clearing House, United States Conference of Mayors.
>
> Regional and national planning agencies, such as American Planning and Civic Association, American Society of Planning Officials, National Economic and Social Planning Association, Regional Planning Association of America.
>
> Agencies concerned with research, such as Population Association of America, Social Science Research Council, foundations devoted to social and economic research.
>
> Agencies concerned with recreation, such as National Federation of Settlements, National Recreation Association, group work agencies.
>
> Agencies concerned with labor standards, such as American Association for Labor Legislation, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, National Child Labor Committee.
>
> Social agencies of denominational or racial character, such as American Friends Service Committee, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, Council of Women for Home Missions, National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
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> Agencies concerned with delinquency and crime, such as American Prison Association, National Jail Association, National Probation Association.
>
> Agencies concerned with civil liberties, such as American Civil Liberties Union.
>
> Agencies concerned with community organization, such as Community Chests and Councils, Inc.
>
> Agencies concerned with the advancement of social work, such as Community Chests and Councils, Inc.
>
> Agencies concerned with the advancement of social work, such as American Association of Schools of Social Work, American Association of Social Workers, National Conference of Social Work, National Social Work Council.

Agencies concerned with immigrant welfare, such as Foreign Language Information Service; International Migration Service, American Branch; National Council of Jewish Women.

Agencies having an interest in the legal aspects of population mobility, such as American Bar Association, National Associations of Attorneys General, National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

In nearly all the fields represented in the above list there are many local and State organizations which also have an interest in the problems of the migrant. Much has been done by local transient committees, usually appointed by councils of social agencies, to study local conditions with respect to transiency and to develop better service for the nonresident.

Many experts connected with these private agencies testifying before the committee acknowledged the inability of these agencies to cope with the present problem unaided. They also testified that the action of the Federal Government in providing a coordinated solution would facilitate their own work materially.

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

NATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

It has been indicated that the causes underlying the mass migration of millions of our citizens—aptly termed "a great, disorganized gold rush" by a writer on the subject—spring from the changing economy and the changing face of our country. The problem is pervasive and complex; no easy single solution presents itself. The many expert witnesses who testified, however, offered a mass of recommendations and suggestions for specific remedial legislation. Varied as these are, a single thread runs throughout them all: That the problem of depression-induced and now, also, of defense-induced migration, is national in scope. All agree that its dimensions are so vast, its specific sources so varied, and its incidence so uneven that neither local units of government nor the States are capable, within their limited resources as well as their necessarily limited contact with and grasp of the problem, of applying adequate measures of alleviation, not to speak of far-reaching, long-range remedies.

It is significant that there was unanimity of opinion on this point by all expert witnesses who testified, by persons in academic life as well as by officials of governmental agencies, representatives of private welfare organizations, employer and civic groups, by migrants and other individuals victimized by the difficulties attending the problem of migration. Succinct expression was given to the general view by the Honorable Fiorello LaGuardia, mayor of the city of New York, during the course of his testimony. Mayor LaGuardia said in part:

> Mr. Chairman, I consider it fairly timely and helpful that the House of Representatives should give this matter of transients, or migration, attention at this time. It is a problem which concerns the whole country, and every city in the United States, in one way or another, is affected and vitally interested.

Mayor LaGuardia's characterization of the problem as a national one was amplified throughout the course of the committee's hearings. Expert witness after expert witness stressed the national approach and the need for a coordinated national attack on the problem. A few representative expressions of this generally held view serve to illustrate. For example, Alfred J. Lundberg, president, California Chamber of Commerce, stated:

> In coming here, you have acknowledged what we, too, have been insisting; that the migrant problem is a national problem, with a particular impact upon California.

Harrison S. Robinson, also representing the California State Chamber of Commerce, amplified his colleague's statement in this connection and said:

> And so I think pretty generally over California it is recognized that something of a national origin has plumped down upon them, and while they must do their local part to the limit of their ability and in a decent and kindly fashion, also, it is a burden which is partly national in character, and only help from a national program can bring these things into approximate balance and make it possible to assimilate these newcomers in a wholesome way and get them on their way to earning their living.

Another witness, A. Frederick Smith, of the Florida Industrial Commission, had this to say concerning the national aspects of the problem:

> Migration is not a local situation nor a State-wide situation but is a multi- and inter-state problem. The various local governmental units cannot financially bear the cost that would fall upon them to give even adequate medical treatment, subsistence, or other needs to the needy migrants.

John E. Bryan, State Administrator of the National Youth Administration for the State of Alabama, in the course of his testimony at Montgomery laid emphasis on the manner in which youth suffered disabilities as a result of migration, pointing out the need for Federal action in this sphere. Mr. Bryan said in part:

> As it appears from the viewpoint of youth of the Southeast, the migrant problem can be solved only by the application of adequate measures initiated by the Federal Government to improve in a fundamental way the conditions of life physically, economically, educationally, and culturally of the youth population in the areas from which the migrants originate.

Another mayor of a great city echoed Mayor LaGuardia's statement on the national character of the problem. During the course of his testimony, Mayor Edward J. Kelly, of Chicago, stated:

> I feel that the problem of migration is not an issue which confronts Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, or other isolated areas on our maps, but it is a problem which encompasses the entire United States, and for this reason I am strongly inclined to the belief that the solution of the problem lies in some form of Federal aid and supervision.

Paul D. Benner, director, bureau of public assistance in the State Department of Social Welfare of Kansas, and representing Governor Ratner, was emphatic in his declaration that the problem was national not only in its implications, but also in its practical aspects. Relevant portions of Mr. Benner's testimony on this point read as follows:

> Mr. CURTIS. You think, then, that this is a national problem?
>
> Mr. BENNER. Definitely.
>
> Mr. CURTIS. It transcends all county and State lines?
>
> Mr. BENNER. Definitely. I don't think there is any question about it.
>
> Mr. CURTIS. And that they are all citizens, as the chairman has said, of the 48 States, and he is just as much a citizen if he leaves Kansas and goes to California as he is if he leaves Illinois and goes to New York?
>
> Mr. BENNER. That is right.
>
> Mr. CURTIS. And it's a national problem?
>
> Mr. BENNER. And there are many, many people on the road that are desperately needing the bare necessities of life, which they are not receiving, and it seems to me that that is the immediate concern of this committee—to get something worked out whereby there will be care provided somewhat uniformly in the 48 States for the individual that is without a country or county or State.

The testimony quoted above makes clear in a general way the need to regard migration as a matter of national concern and consequently a matter of concern to the Congress. The consensus among the expert witnesses who testified was that the specific hardships and disabilities borne by the migrant and the particular economic influences making for migration are almost invariably susceptible of correction or alleviation only through Federal action, or at least Federal aid to the States. So unanimous was this view, that it is unnecessary to weigh the alternative of local action. The States, cities, and counties have demonstrated—and concede—their inability within the past few years to initiate and administer measures adequate to deal with even the temporary aspects of the problem.

The implications behind the recommendations of expert witnesses that migration be dealt with nationally are clear. Unlike the westward migration of the latter half of the last century and the farm-to-city migration of the early decades of this century, present-day migration is neither altogether beneficent nor a phenomenon of the moment. Earlier migration was induced by the hope and possibility of economic betterment; present-day migration is movement induced, in large part, by desperation. Further, our population is on the move not solely as a result of the depression but, as has been set forth above, as a result of far-reaching dislocations in our economy. It is a problem to which there is no single ready answer and one that will continue in its insistence upon a solution national in character. A problem here to stay in one form or another, it must, perforce, be dealt with on a continuing long-range basis rather than by piecemeal emergency measures. Study of the problem by the committee and the testimony of many expert witnesses underscores the fact that an imperative first step is the initiation of a coordinated Federal program both on the legislative and fact-finding fronts.

Implicit in much of the expert testimony as to the national character of the problem of migration is the fact that the Congress, as well as the country as a whole, must revise many of its preconceptions both as to the nature and consequences of the haphazard and, in far too many instances, tragic movement of its citizens. The point was made frequently during the hearings that while the regulation of the transportation of goods in interstate commerce has long been a concern of the Federal Government, it has done little in the direction of regulating the flow of people from State to State in search of employment. It is only logical that the movement of its inhabitants be of as much concern to the Federal Government as the movement of goods. With this thought in mind, Chairman Tolan, in discussing Dr. Rupert Vance's prepared paper at Montgomery, said:

> I have one observation that I would like to make and then possibly some of the other members of the committee would maybe like to ask you some questions. I think in your paper the most powerful statement that you made, and one that the country should realize now, is this:
>
> "Migration is not only a constitutional right of every American citizen; it is an economic necessity in the American economic system. This country is an economic unit with a predominantly national market. Industries, investments, goods, and labor respond to this economic and legal fact by crossing State lines at will."
>
> That is one of my pet hobbies. In other words, we have 4,000,000 migrants annually going from State to State, and after they arrive there they have no status of any kind or character. One-third of these are children; we have the health problem; the educational problem always enters into it. Now, in 150 years, and I think that you will agree with me on this, we have spent billions of dollars through the courts and through the Congress to protect the free flow of steel, iron, and coal, and commodities—that is the dollar, we watch that jealously, but in the 150 years we didn't expend a dime where humans enter into that commerce. That is just what this committee is trying to do—to recommend

something to Congress along that line, and I want to say to you that your paper is going to give us a great deal of information and assistance, and I thank you personally for it, Doctor.

The chairman's observation in this connection leads inevitably to expression of the need for a broadening of our concept of Federal responsibility in this field. If we view our people as a part of the resources of our Nation, we are led naturally to the conclusion that, as in the field of the conservation of natural resources, it is imperative to take immediate and effective steps toward conserving our human resources. We can no longer, and especially in the light of the present-day defense effort, afford to waste and dissipate the skills, the energies, and, perhaps most important of all, the spirit, of our people. As in our efforts to conserve our land, our water, and our other resources, where we have found it wise and expedient to look into the problem over a long period of years from a broad national point of view; we must likewise deal with the problem of migration through a similar Federal program. We must come to the realization and see the logic of dealing with this problem as scientifically as we have sought to check the loss and deterioration of our physical and natural resources.

SIZE OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION

The number of persons migrating from State to State seeking employment or opportunities for economic betterment has always been large. Earlier, due to the depression and attendant economic distress, and now as a result of the expansion of industry under the defense effort, the volume of migration of the destitute has assumed greater proportions than heretofore. This increase has been noted in recent years by scholars in the field of population, and warnings as to its consequences frequently have been sounded. Most experts are in agreement that distress migration has increased at a rate far beyond a normal and desirable level.

Nevertheless, while the general trend has been noted, precise measurement of the size of our migrant population has not been undertaken. We have no knowledge of exactly how many people in this country are on the move.

Available information in this connection is scarce, not only because we are without an adequate system by which such information could be secured, but also because of the confusion as to the term "migrant" itself. Yet if an enumeration of persons who cross State lines alone were to be made, thus eliminating many who legitimately might be classified as migrants, and whose problems are identical with those of the interstate migrant, the job of determining numbers would remain. It is clear to the committee that before action can be taken on this problem, there must be devised a system for counting the migratory population.

The census data furnish some indication of the volume of interstate migration. The 1930 census shows that at the time of that census more than 23 percent of our native-born population were living in States in which they had not been born. In other words, 22,000,000 native whites and 3,000,000 native Negroes had moved from the States of their origin for one reason or another. Figures on the movement to and from farms indicate that about 3,000,000 persons migrate from farms to towns and cities, and from towns and cities to farms each year, and that over a million farm families annually leave one farm for another.[3]

Although there has been no operating system for securing Nation-wide information on the size of our migrant population, information on this point gained by the committee during the course of its hearings and from published sources gives an indication of the size of the problem.

It is the popular view that migration is primarily an agricultural problem. Against this impression should be placed figures showing the proportions of urban migration. This is emphasized by figures published by the Social Security Board recording individuals with wages taxable for old-age and survivor's insurance. These show that in 1937, 2,300,000 persons, or 7 percent of the total of all claimants in this category, moved across State lines. It is important to remember that these workers were wholly engaged in manufacturing, lumbering, mining, or service occupations, since the act in question excludes agricultural workers and certain other designated groups from its benefits. A large portion of these more than 2,000,000 people were themselves near the line of destitution, more than half of them receiving less than $700 in taxable wages. In the light of these indications as to the extent of urban migration, the estimate made by the Interdepartmental Committee on Health and Welfare that there are currently some 4,000,000 migratory workers, both urban and agricultural, seems to be no exaggeration. It is highly significant that, according to the testimony of Miss Katharine Lenroot, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the migrant child population of the country is between one and two millions.

An indication as to the size of our shifting agricultural population is to be gained from the testimony of Walter A. Duffy, regional director, Farm Security Administration, region XI, which comprises the Pacific Northwest States. Mr. Duffy stated that—

> Reliable studies indicate that over 450,000 people have migrated to the northwestern States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho since 1930. This movement of population in itself is not alarming. Similar heavy movements of people have taken place in previous decades. But the circumstances surrounding the recent migration have been, and are, ones which cause destitution, disillusionment, and sharply increased competition for jobs and farms.

C. M. Evans, also of the Farm Security Administration, in the course of his testimony at Oklahoma City gave some indication as to the size of our migratory population as he knew it in Texas. Mr. Evans stated that—

> No one knows definitely how many migratory workers there are in Texas. Estimates made vary from 300,000 to 400,000 persons.

Harrison S. Robinson, representing the California State Chamber of Commerce, testified in San Francisco as to the extent of migration into his State. He said, in part:

> Studies of the committee revealed that during the past 5-year period, interstate migration has increased the population of California by 850,000. A substantial portion of this new population has been destitute farm families from the Great Plains and Southern States, particularly Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

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[3] Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture. Department of Agriculture, p. 5.

The committee referred to by Mr. Robinson was a committee of the State chamber of commerce appointed by that organization to inquire into all aspects of the migratory problem.

Contrary to the popular impression, not all of these migrants entering California sought work in the vast farming enterprises of the State. Nearly half of them came to California looking for work in the trades and factories of the State. Mr. Robinson further testified that—

> Since the middle of 1935, over 390,000 members of migrant families whose breadwinners were in search of manual employment, have entered the State by autos through the border checking stations. In 1939 the number was 63,291. During the first 8 months of 1940 the number has been 40,160, or slightly more than the influx during the same months of 1939.

Since that time it may be assumed that the influx into California is again on the increase due to the expansion of the aircraft and other defense industries.

Reinforcing Mr. Robinson's assertion that not all migrants into California came to seek agricultural work, is the testimony of Varden Fuller, associate agricultural economist of the United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Testifying in San Francisco, Mr. Fuller replied, in response to a question as to what occupations were represented among the persons coming into California, as follows:

> All occupations are represented. The occupational structure of the people coming west corresponds very closely to the occupations that are represented in the entire population and within the particular States from which the people are coming. They are also represented in about the same proportion.

At a later point in his testimony in this connection, Mr. Fuller, in reply to a question by Congressman Sparkman as to whether the migrants coming into California were skilled workers, said:

> Yes; they are skilled workers. For instance, from the southern Great Plains we have lots of former oil workers. We have people who have developed skills in manufacturing industry coming around from the Great Plains area and in from Ohio and Iowa.
>
> Mr. SPARKMAN. There is a great defense program being carried on in California, particularly in the aviation industry. Are many of them absorbed in that, or are many of them capable of being absorbed?
>
> Mr. FULLER. I think many of them are being absorbed and many more of them are capable of being absorbed. One indication of that is a very large proportion of the recent migrants into California have located in the vicinity of Los Angeles and been absorbed there in manufacturing industries which have been expanding.

The fact that the migration of agricultural workers is by no means confined to the far West was made clear by the testimony of numerous witnesses. For example, John Beecher, supervisor of the Florida migratory labor camps of the Farm Security Administration, testified:

> We are not yet sufficiently informed to make even a good guess about the number of persons involved in farm migration over the entire Southeast and can only roughly estimate the numbers in certain areas. At the peak of the harvest there are at least 50,000 farm workers and members of their families in lower south Florida, the great majority of whom are migrants. When strawberry picking is on in southeastern Kentucky 20,000 pickers are at work within a 20-mile radius of Paducah, many of whom are one-crop migrants from the delta country of Missouri and Arkansas. The strawberry fields at Chadbourne, N. C., require about 6,000 pickers for the harvest, 5,000 of whom must be assembled from elsewhere.

Prof. C. O. Brannen, chairman of the department of rural economics at the University of Arkansas, asserted that Arkansas depended largely on nonresident, migratory labor during the harvest season in that State. He estimated that there were about 15,000 nonresident agricultural workers employed in the State at the peak of the harvest. In Arizona, according to Dr. William P. Shepard, there are approximately 70,000 migratory people entering the State each year for seasonal employment in September and June. It is significant also that witnesses testifying as to conditions along the Atlantic seaboard stated that there was a discernible growing utilization of migratory agricultural laborers in States of destination.

The migration of urban workers, the committee learned, has been greatly accelerated as a result of the national-defense program. Witnesses declared that States where important defense industries were getting under way, more specifically those places where aircraft plants, shipyards, Army and Navy establishments, and other activities identified with defense are located, were beginning to experience new floods of migration.

Certain areas naturally have lost considerable population as a result of large-scale migration. Paul D. Benner, director of the bureau of public assistance of the State Department of Social Welfare of Kansas, testified that Kansas has lost over 82,000 residents in the last decade, a decrease in the population of the State of nearly 4½ percent. One county in the State, he testified, lost 46 percent of its population. This county was in the southwest section of Kansas, a portion of the drought-stricken region. Nebraska also lost a considerable number of its residents. Governor R. L. Cochran stated during his appearance before the committee that Nebraska experienced a net loss of about 64,000. He ascribed a large percentage of this loss to the drought. Donald Hay, the area leader of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the Department of Agriculture, reported in his testimony that preliminary releases from the Census Bureau indicate that Wyoming, Nebraska, and the two Dakotas show a net decline in population of some 132,000 persons between 1930 and 1940.

TYPES OF MIGRANTS

Unfortunately, in the mind of the American public, the traditional picture of the migrant has been the cartoonist's conception of the "tramp"—the itinerant whose reason for keeping on the move is primarily to keep work at arm's length. There is the nobler, but now obsolete, conception of that other migrant—the pioneer moving westward to lands of new opportunity. Neither of these pictures portrays the migrant as the committee found him. Whether he be driven from his land to become a farm laborer or whether he move from city to city in search of employment, the migrant is an average American but with more than his share of the ill effects of the depression. He gives, moreover, a demonstration of fortitude and enterprise which Americans are accustomed to commend. As one witness, a representative of a regional office of the Farm Security Administration, told the committee:

> * * * I want to enter in this record an emphatic, unqualified expression of confidence in the migrant families who are taking the impact of this problem. Our experience in the Northwest has uniformly supported the idea that these are

> intelligent, vigorous Americans, who will put to constructive use any fair opportunity to make farms and homes. These people have hope, and they continue to strive for a better living when they really have cause to despair * * *.

From the committee's study of the problem, certain recognizable types of population movement or migration emerge. In a Department of Labor study entitled "Migration of Workers", migrants have been put into two categories, "constant" and "removal":

> Seasonal and casual workers who move continually from job to job will be referred to as constant migrants.[4]

As the term suggests, the constant migrant is the person who makes his livelihood (whether by choice or compulsion) by casual or seasonal labor. As the study referred to just above states:

> Migration is sometimes mistakenly discussed as if this were the only group of migrants. Even more fundamental, presenting at times extremely serious problems is the group of removal migrants, who move in response to a fairly permanent relocation of their work * * *. Frequently the removal migrants fall into the class of constant migrants. Thus, the drought refugees who are clearly removal migrants in origin have often become seasonal workers moving from job to job when they have been unable to reestablish themselves permanently in any one community. Much migration during the recent depression also belongs to an intermediate class. Numerous depression migrants took to the road because of lack of work or relief at home and not usually with the intention of moving constantly. Some have returned to their former homes so that their migration was special and temporary. Some have resettled and thus become removal migrants. Others have continued to search for work on the road and so become constant migrants recruited from the relocating forces of the depression.[5]

The migrants who move to relocate their families, the so-called removal migrants, far outnumber the habitual or constant migrants. Studies of migrants frequently tend to overemphasize the problems attending constant migration, probably because of the more dramatic character of this type of migration.

The largest proportion of persons entering into the stream of migration today, as has been indicated, is composed of those who seek to relocate in an effort to gain economic rehabilitation. Driven off the land or denied employment opportunity, they give up one home to seek another with the hope that it will become unnecessary for them to migrate farther. From the testimony of many expert witnesses the committee learned that, before 1930, the expectation that migration would culminate in a relatively quick and satisfactory relocation was usually fulfilled in practice. Following that year, however, and unquestionably as the result of the impact of the depression, increasing mechanization, and natural disasters such as drought and soil erosion, there has occurred a more frequent failure on the part of the migrants to find employment sufficiently stable to enable them to establish permanency of residence.

With the promise of permanent relocation unfulfilled, the initial migration has led to another, with the objective still that of permanent location. That this normal human craving to obtain a home seldom disappears altogether is revealed in an account of a migrant family which came to the Farm Security migrant camp at Belle Glade in Southern Florida. John Beecher, supervisor of the Farm Security Administration's migratory camps in Florida, submitted during the course of his testimony in Montgomery an account of this family which reads in part:

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[4] U. S. Department of Labor, Migration of Workers, Preliminary Report of the Secretary of Labor, pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong.).

[5] Ibid.

> This family is driven back and forth across the vast length and breadth of the land by no sense of high adventure or love of the open road but by the stubborn belief that somewhere waiting is a stake for them—a home—a piece of land they can raise a living on—something they can tie to. For, like most of the farm migrants, they are not following the crops because they like to—they are doing it because they have to live.

The plight of the migrant agricultural laborer has been impressed upon the public consciousness by the novel and the screen. Unquestionably this migration, either self-induced or resulting from factors beyond the control of the individual, was an outgrowth of an insufficiency of income in the locality from which the seasonal laborer originally came. Both expert and migrant witnesses who testified before the committee presented a picture of blind efforts by the migrants to find employment. Thrown into an overstocked and disorganized labor market, the migrant's chances of obtaining steady seasonal or casual work, undesirable as this may be from many points of view, are exceedingly low.

Numerous experts, including Dr. William S. Hopkins of Stanford University; Miss Loula Dunn, commissioner of public welfare of the State of Alabama; S. G. Rubinow, administrator of the California State Relief Administration, and others, testified concerning the inadequacy of existing facilities for the efficient placement of migratory workers in available jobs. The general conditions which make for intermittent employment, oversupply of labor, and growing numbers of migrant workers, hold also for urban or industrial workers. Many of those who migrate from city to city in search of industrial or service employment are confronted by a woeful lack of information or direction in regard to the labor market. Much of their movement, like that which takes place among agricultural workers, is ill advised, and consequently fails to bring worker and job together.

It is imperative, aside from purely humanitarian considerations, that the whole problem of decasualizing the labor market be tackled if we are to draw fully upon our available man-power in the national defense effort. The need for such action was well stated by several witnesses who testified at the Washington hearings upon the subject of the defense program.

A rather special aspect of migration is the problem of unattached youth from rural areas. Historically, the cities have tended to provide job opportunities for younger members of farm families who were not needed at home. Since 1930 there have been more unemployed youth in the cities than could be absorbed, with the result that in several years of this decade 200,000 more youths were left idle on the farms than heretofore. As one expert put it:

> Making a conservative estimate, one can say farms today have 2,000,000 more youth than are needed to grow our agricultural products.[6]

Similarly, young Americans in the cities, who faced widespread unemployment in the depression years, moved in large numbers across the country in vain efforts to gain employment.

DISABILITIES SUFFERED BY MIGRANTS

Perhaps the most serious disability suffered by the migrant is his irregular, discontinuous, and uncertain employment. It will be remembered that the majority of migrants seek to find employment which will give a continuous and productive income, thus enabling them to settle down. The agricultural migrant, seeking an opportunity for self-employment, finds himself in an even more difficult situation than the urban migrant. Free land is no longer available, at least free land which can support a family even on a subsistence level. Moreover, under the conditions of widespread local unemployment, the destitute rural or urban migrant is often looked upon as an "outsider" in the community in which he hopes to take up permanent residence. However, further movement offers little reasonable expectation of employment. Finally, when his resources are exhausted, the migrant is forced to apply for either public or private assistance.

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[6] Raney, Howard, American Youth Commission, titled "How Fare American Youth?" 1937, p. 106.

In seeking relief the migrant encounters difficulties and disabilities far greater than those suffered by the settled relief client. The local community naturally feels little or no responsibility for aiding the migrant. A complexity of legal barriers to the granting of public relief confronts him; the funds of private welfare organizations are limited and he faces the general feeling that the primary responsibility of the community is to aid needy local residents. In addition to the distress arising out of the migrant's lack of legal claim to general relief, the coverage afforded by Federal social-security legislation is frequently incomplete or nonexistent, especially for those in agricultural pursuits or domestic service. Old-age insurance and employment-compensation legislation specifically omits workers in these categories. Even those covered by social-security legislation frequently gain few or none of its benefits, because, in the process of moving about, they fail to attain sufficient credits or periods of employment to qualify for these benefits. In addition, protection of the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act does not extend to agricultural workers.

The migrant also suffers from a lack of adequate hospital and medical care. The Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. Thomas Parran, in his testimony before the committee in Washington, made clear that the migrant presents a special and extremely pressing problem in this respect. The need of the migrant and his family for medical care and advice cannot be met by the limited medical facilities of most American communities. Qualified witnesses testified that local medical facilities are inadequate in most cases to meet the needs of all destitute local residents, let alone nonpaying transients. A warning in connection with the health of the migrant was sounded at several of the committee's hearings, namely, the danger of the unhospitalized migrant transmitting communicable diseases. The program which has aroused the most interest among experts in this field, according to testimony before the committee, is the hospital and medical program sponsored by the Farm Security Administration. However, this service, caring only for a small segment of agricultural migrants, falls far short of meeting the whole problem.

Much information was furnished the committee concerning the housing of migrants, serving to reinforce previous studies made by Federal agencies, one witness told the committee that—

> Bad housing facilities are a rule where the migrants congregate. In rural areas the ditch-banks shack, the tent camp, or the worse type of "tourist camp" provide most of the shelter within the means of this low-income group. In urban areas, the "shack town" at the edge of the city is frequently the only resort of the needy

> nonresident. Low income and short stays make the migrant an unprofitable and undesirable tenant.[7]

Testimony relating to the housing facilities of migrant workers furnished considerable evidence that, with some notable exceptions in the field of private migrant camps, the Farm Security Administration program for providing housing facilities was an outstanding achievement. Again, however, it was stated by witnesses that the need for exceeded existing facilities.

Another disadvantage suffered by our migrant population was reported as the inadequate education of the children of migrant families. Testimony conclusively showed that educational opportunities were extremely limited for thousands of children of migrant families, particularly those of migrant agricultural workers. Even when the children of migrants are able to avail themselves of local school facilities the uncertainty and short duration of their residence seriously hamper their educational progress.

The entire situation confronting migrants must be viewed against the background of their extremely low annual earnings. When the average annual earnings of a migrant family vary anywhere from $300 to $700, as latest available figures seem to indicate, it is obvious why so many migrants become destitute during the season of slack employment. After the harvest seasons the agricultural migrant is unemployed for the remainder of the year. At best, the migrant farm laborer is fortunate in obtaining 6 months work in the year. Most reports indicate a much lower average period of employment. Annual income for the migrant agricultural family on the west coast has been reported to be as low as $200, seldom higher than $600. The agricultural migrant family averages four persons; thus, the per capita income seldom exceeds the meager figure of $150. A casual knowledge of the cost of living is evidence that a family income of $700 annually for nonsettled persons is close to destitution.

Low incomes and other adverse conditions facing migratory workers were prevalent before the depression. Literature on this subject shows that even in prosperous years it was the fate of migrant and casual workers to exist at subnormal standards. The earnings of migratory workers naturally were driven downward by the impact of the depression.

Another conspicuous hardship suffered by the migrant, especially the agricultural migrant, is his hazardous method of transportation. Unable to afford train or bus fare, most migrants travel throughout the country in old, unsafe trucks and automobiles. Truck transportation supplied by labor contractors is frequently in violation of State and Federal laws. In several cases reported to the committee no financial responsibility for accidents could be fixed.

It is clear that the disabilities thus summarily set forth bring ills not only of the body but of the spirit. Most telling for the future is the effect of migration as a way of life upon migrant children. John Beecher, of the Farm Security Administration, in the committee's Montgomery hearings aptly said:

> What sort of Americans are migrant children growing up to be? Their way of life is completely alien to the traditional American way of life. We may very well be breeding aliens out of the descendants of pioneers.

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[7] Lawson, William R., memorandum to W. P. A. Administrator Col. F. C. Harrington, March 2, 1939. In Congressional Record March 20, 1939, pp. 5008–5010.

Causes of Migration

The preceding section has been concerned with the question of what happens to people who move, and related questions as to the number of migrants within our borders, how many move seasonably, what proportion of all migrants are rural or urban in origin, what disabilities they have as compared with resident people, and how many potential migrants there may be at the points of origin, waiting for something to start them along the same road.

This committee has been deeply concerned with these millions of migrants who have to move on account of circumstances over which they have no control and who, like Americans, refuse to starve standing still. Directly or indirectly, this movement of people is connected with every economic dislocation in our national life. It is obvious, therefore, that no single solution to this problem is possible.

Assuming, as the committee has, that the American people desire to encourage migration, there will remain situations in which movement may not be the best solution for the individual or the family group. Unconsidered movement to certain areas may serve to aggravate an already serious situation. Migration from certain areas may be desirable, if not imperative, but existing or proposed migration from those areas may not provide a desirable solution. For example, farms in the Southeast can .rovide work for only a fraction of the oncoming generation of farm population. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the migration of whole families is more desirable than the continued migration of youth which has been characteristic of that region for generations.

The causes of migration may be divided into two principal categories:

1. Economic causes, especially those arising from depression conditions—
   (a) General unemployment, causing migration to other urban areas in search of jobs or to the land for security;
   (b) Regional differences in employment, wage levels, and patterns of seasonal labor requirements;
   (c) High rates of natural population increase in areas of low economic opportunity;
   (d) Seasonal demands of agriculture for workers;
   (e) Mechanization of industry and agriculture;
   (f) Belated flight from stranded areas as national recovery develops.
2. Natural causes in areas subject to drought hazards, soil erosion, plant disease, and insects.

The causes of migration have been found by the committee to be primarily economic. Migration is symptomatic of economic dislocation and, in more serious situations, of economic decline or disintegration. Extreme examples of the latter are to be found in stranded mining or mill towns, cut-over forest areas and certain rural areas where natural forces, such as drought or erosion, have worked the greatest hardships. In the case of these latter rural areas the committee realizes that neither drought nor soil erosion is automatically attended by the permanent decline of the affected rural areas. Adjustments in such areas are, however, usually accompanied by some temporary migration.

Urban migration throughout the last decade has been a byproduct of the general unemployment problem. The study now being conducted by the group attached to the National Resources Planning Board investigating general relief should form a valuable background to any future studies of migration. It is from the ranks of those at or near the relief level that the bulk of migration arises. Witnesses before the committee have regularly testified, however, that many of the migratory group dislike to accept relief and that this in itself has often led them to migrate either to other urban areas in search of jobs or back to the land in search of security.

Migration from country to city in good times has been, in all countries, the classic example of migration. In fact, to carry this a step further, the European immigration to this country before 1920 originated largely in rural communities. A strong case could be made for the assertion that the advent of the industrial revolution in country after country produced a steady flow of population not only from European countryside to European cities, but also from rural Europe to urban America. One of the outstanding factors behind this is the failure of urban populations, in all modern industrialized communities, to reproduce itself. Replacements, characteristically, have been derived from rural areas. Until very recently, the population increase in rural areas in all countries has exceeded local economic opportunities. As a consequence, migration from the countryside to cities at home or abroad has flowed freely. With the closing of our gates to immigration, except on a highly restricted basis, such replacements for urban United States population were bound to be drawn from rural areas in the United States. It was in this connection that the Southeast was characterized by Prof. Rupert B. Vance at the committee's Montgomery hearings as "the seedbed of the Nation."

Mechanization of industry after 1920 led to expanding employment opportunities in manufacturing establishments. In contrast to those absolute increases, however, the relative numbers employed in manufacturing had already begun to decline by 1920. Yet it was not until the decade just ended that it became generally apparent that job seekers must look elsewhere than to industry for expanding employment opportunities. The impact of mechanization on industrial job seekers during the decade 1930–40 has overtaken agricultural labor also. Continued mechanization of agriculture will reduce further the total number of jobs to be done on farms. As a result of this mechanization, and the natural population increase, it may be expected that for several decades to come the number of job seekers in agriculture, as well as in urban industry, will rise. This situation produces areas of surplus population and declining job opportunities, and stimulates migration in search of new jobs. For many migrants whose job qualifications are limited, these new jobs are nonexistent.

From areas of surplus population the majority of migrants have been, and continue to be, drawn from the youthful group. With the improvement of educational opportunities throughout the country, the horizon of youth has been broadening, while the local job opportunities in many areas have been stagnating or actually declining. At the same time, oncoming numbers of young men and women have not appreciably slackened. This group of migrants has been characterized above as indispensable to the maintenance of urban population. The committee is not concerned with cutting off the movement of such a group but is interested in its guidance, the alleviation of unnecessary hardships it encounters, and especially the improvement of its preparation for the role which its members will have to play as the urban dwellers of the next decades.

During the early years of the decade of the 1930's, the net flow of population from country to city was checked and for the first time in many years, if not in the Nation's history, the number returning to the farm exceeded in one year, 1932, the number leaving the farm. In view of the fact that population pressures, not only in the Southeast but throughout the entire farming regions of the country, are customarily relieved by out-migration from these areas, very severe strains were imposed on rural localities. In many places the already substandard levels of rural health, housing, and education were further reduced. Meanwhile, the fall of agricultural prices and the collapse of farm credit forced new thousands off their farms. Contemporaneous with the decrease in number of these small farms, there was an accompanying increase in the number of large farms, mechanization of agriculture, particularly on large farms, and the rise of industrialized agriculture. Agricultural distress occasioned demands for Federal assistance, and when this was forthcoming in the form of payments for restriction of production, small farmers complained that they obtained little benefit from this program.

Those family migrants from areas of rural distress joined the army of followers of seasonal crops with the consequent break-down of any organized pattern of migration that may have existed previously. Seasonal agricultural demands for labor, especially in industrialized agriculture, have created these patterns in various parts of the country. Cotton growing in Texas, Arizona, and California is an industry based upon the use of seasonal wage laborers, rather than upon the traditional sharecropper system in the Southeast. In Texas this demand is largely for Mexican laborers, but in Arizona and California in recent years many workers of Mexican origin have been repatriated and their places taken by native white Americans, mainly from the States of Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas. The long-standing use by the Colorado sugar-beet industry of laborers from Mexico, or their descendants, has recently been paralleled by a migration of these beet-field workers from Texas to Michigan. In Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, as well as along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the labor requirements of new and growing areas of large-scale vegetable production are being supplied, for the most part, by native white American laborers. Migration of Negroes engaged in agriculture, originating in Florida and moving with the crops as far north as New Jersey, seems to be assuming a new importance.

As business indexes rose from their lows in 1932, there was an accompanying increase in migration and a change in its constituency from a preponderance of unattached homeless men and boys to that of family migration. The movement of large numbers of Negroes from the South, which had been a distinguishing feature of the early 1920's, was resumed on a somewhat smaller scale. It was sufficient, however, to aggravate already serious conditions among the Negro populations of northern cities. With the advent of economic recovery the out-migration of rural whites also approached its 1920–30 proportions. The automobile industry in Detroit and other industrial areas in the North saw a marked influx of people from the border States of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and also from the Ozark region. Stranded communities in the Northeast and elsewhere, especially mining and textile-manufacturing towns, did not benefit by this recovery. Instead of a revival of their customary industries, new shops moved in to take advantage of the cheap labor of the women and girls of their families. Out-migration from these areas remains small, however, perhaps because of the lack of flexibility and the limited skills of this population.

To this flight from economic dislocation, decline, or in some cases actual disintegration of particular communities, must be added the migration out of regions suffering from disasters such as drought and soil erosion. Once certain developments have occurred, such as overcropping in the Southeast or the use of land for wheat and similar crops in regions normally suited only to grazing, natural forces take their course. In the drought area unusually severe water shortages occurred in addition to these man-made causes, and disaster began. In both types of situation the out-migration, not only of farm populations, but of neighboring rural nonfarmer dwellers followed. Some restricted parts of affected areas are now considered to be beyond repair. Most of the land in these regions, however, is believed by experts to be fit for some form of agriculture if a new balance is achieved between population and the land. Many of the witnesses before this committee urged that such Federal intervention as that now being carried out by the Bureau of Reclamation in the drought-stricken regions and by the Soil Conservation Service in areas which are badly eroded will be indispensable to the restoration of a healthy regional agriculture.

Summary of Recommendations by Witnesses

In closing its preliminary report, the committee presents in summary form a list of the principal recommendations made to it by witnesses in the course of its hearings. In connection with these recommendations the committee wishes to emphasize that it does not appear at this time as sponsor for any of these recommendations, but believes that a useful purpose may be served by presenting the views of others as a frame of reference to precede the committee's final report. It will thus be possible for those who are following the work of this committee to understand the types of problems which experts and administrators find important. The committee intends to use any extension of time granted it for the completion of its report in an analysis of these recommendations. As the result of this analysis the committee expects to arrive at a limited number of recommendations of its own. One further explanation should probably accompany the publication of this summary of the *recommendations of others:* In the committee's final report the full text of these recommendations made by witnesses before the committee may be expected to require more than 50,000 words of text. It is important, therefore, that the word "summary" should be underscored in this presentation.

LABOR CONTRACTING AND TRANSPORTATION

The general picture furnished the committee in this field is one of irresponsible methods of hiring and transporting migrants. With high fees and low wages forming twin adjuncts of the labor contractor's business, the system, in practice, permits great abuse of the migrant, the committee was told. Among the several witnesses discussing this subject before the committee, L. C. Stoll, director of the Oregon State Employment Service, had this to say:

> The evils of the agricultural labor contractor system of handling migratory labor are well known to all. Such methods disrupt the best-laid plans of the Federal-State employment service. Too many workers are frequently brought into the work areas by the contractors. This lessens the amount of work available per person and often beats down the wage rate. Even more vicious practices, short weights, and irresponsible contractors leaving wages and bonuses unpaid, and causing large groups of stranded workers to become county or Government relief cases, are examples too well-known to need further detailing. * * *

Trucks used in transporting migrants, witnesses informed the committee, often are in poor repair and are without either State or Federal licenses for transportation of persons. When accidents occur, establishment of financial responsibility is difficult.

PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES—ADVERTISING

Closely related to the subject of labor contracting, this phase of the problem of migration, namely, the work of private employment agencies and the advertising which is placed to secure workers, received detailed consideration at the committee's hearings. Many witnesses designated this type of advertising as "irresponsible" and a factor in establishing an over-supply of labor at points of demand. Other experts informed the committee that such "irresponsible" advertising frequently results in "waste" migration, since it is undirected and based in many cases on misinformation. Throughout the Nationwide series of hearings, experts were practically unanimous in their designation of this type of advertising as an evil. Some individuals linked the regulation of this sort of advertising and stringent policing of labor contracting as desirable steps toward reducing undirected and purposeless movement of people. Extension of the present system of Federal-State employment services was advocated by many witnesses. State Relief Administrator S. G. Rubinow, of the State of California, declared:

> States of origin, States of destination, and the Federal Government should be given the opportunity of participating jointly in a highly efficient farm placement service which will direct the flow of farm migrants in a rational manner and which will maintain its operations in line with actual needs of farm operators for farm labor.

Neil H. Jacoby, chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, told the committee at Chicago:

> A man who moves to another State merely because of rumors of well-paid employment that are baseless is not bettering his own condition, or that of society.
>
> Even migration based on knowledge of the best available facts leaves room for risk and misfortune. But it raises the probability of advantageous migration far above aimless movement in ignorance of the relevant facts. It would appear to be a proper function of government to make all facts available regarding employment opportunities to potentially migrant people: This seems to be an element in an intelligent policy.

MIGRANT CAMPS

During its investigations in various sections of the country, the committee paid close attention to the migrant camps established by both public and private agencies.

The migrant camps established and managed by the Farm Security Administration received highly favorable comment at the committee hearings. In general, witnesses stated that it had been their experience that establishment of a Farm Security Administration unit in a particular locality usually was followed by improvement of standards in private camps. Nearly every witness recommended the migratory camp program and urged its extension. The committee was informed by witnesses that these camps provide a minimum of shelter and sanitation for migratory workers and their families. Witnesses testifying at the New York and Montgomery hearings stated that they had observed a few good private camps in New Jersey and Florida.

MEASURES CONCERNED WITH IMPROVING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Education, Health, and Housing.

On the questions of education, health, and housing for migrants, the committee received a variety of suggestions from witnesses, representing a wide range of social and economic activity. A majority of the witnesses thought that extension of the Federal agency in a particular field was warranted, accompanied by increased Federal funds. Summarized, the suggestions receiving the widest support were:

1. Federal aid to the States for educational purposes.
2. Federal funds for the improvement of rural health and housing.
3. Increased emphasis on vocational training.

Some of the recommendations made follow:

Dr. William P. Shepard, president, Western Branch, American Public Health Association, urged that the public health work of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, and the United States Public Health Service be expanded. County health departments are generally understaffed and underfinanced, the committee was informed by several witnesses.

Mrs. Walter A. Knapp, California Congress of Parents and Teachers, endorsed a program of increased Federal aid through distribution of surplus food products.

Mayor La Guardia of New York also recommended care of migrants by the United States Public Health Service under the Federal Communicable Disease Act of 1893.

SOCIAL-SECURITY LEGISLATION

The extension of existing social-security legislation to agricultural workers, at present excluded from provisions of those laws, was recommended by many witnesses. Among those sponsoring such recommendations were Secretary of Labor Frances E. Perkins; Gov. Culbert L. Olson, of California; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Phillip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Prof. Paul S. Taylor, of the University of California; Mrs. Val M. Keating, Assistant Administrator of Work Projects Administration, San Antonio, Tex., and others. Testifying at the committee's Oklahoma City hearing, Mrs Keating said, in part:

> Social security legislation largely overlooks the interstate migrant. Agricultural workers have been excluded from the unemployment compensation laws so far enacted, and from Federal old-age annuities. Nonresident workers are inadequately covered in most State social security laws. Many workers now stand to lose whatever compensation they may have accumulated if they migrate from one State to another, unless special arrangements to cover such cases are successfully established by future interstate agreements.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

With respect to the relation of the problem of migration and the Fair Labor Standards Act, the testimony of nearly a dozen witnesses at the hearings conducted by this committee called for the inclusion under this act of workers engaged in industrialized agriculture and in agricultural processing where they are now exempt. Regulation of the wages and hours of labor of these workers, several witnesses held, was desirable both from social and economic standpoints. Col. Philip B. Fleming, Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor, told this committee he believed there was precedent for wage regulation of commercialized farming operations in the Sugar Act of 1937.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT

A study of the committee's hearings discloses that, on the whole, the same witnesses who recommended the extension of social security legislation and the Fair Labor Standards Act to migratory workers also favored the coverage of migrants by the National Labor Relations Act. Boris Shishkin, of the American Federation of Labor, told the committee at its Washington hearings:

> No preventive remedies can be effective unless the economic pressure forcing migration is removed. Reducing inequities in income by increasing the purchasing power of low-income workers is fundamental if the goal is to be achieved. Extension of coverage of the minimum wage and maximum hour standards of the wage and hour law and extension of safeguards of collective bargaining rights to workers now excluded from protection against substandard labor conditions and unfair labor practices are strongly urged by labor as bringing into operation long-range stabilizing forces.

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION—REHABILITATION—COOPERATION

Many expert witnesses recommended the extension of the rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration as an important aid in checking much aimless wandering and possible starvation. These efforts, however, in the opinion of some witnesses, were said to constitute primarily stop-gap measures. Rehabilitation keeps people on the land and eliminates pointless migration, but certain authorities feared that this policy also threatened a future of subsistence agriculture for a large minority, or possibly even a majority, of American farmers. Hence, it was contended, over the longer period the work may run counter to the traditional American ideal of a "better future."

The great majority of the witnesses who dealt with this program, however, favored an increase in the present appropriation for rehabilitation purposes, and called for a reduction in the case loads of supervisors handling the program, so that individual farmers might receive more attention than is now possible.

Testifying at San Francisco, Walter A. Duffy, regional director of the Farm Security Administration in region 11, Pacific Northwest, related some of the facts in connection with rehabilitation work in the territory for which he is responsible. He stated:

> Reliable studies indicate that over 450,000 people have migrated to the northwestern States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho since 1930. This movement of population in itself is not alarming. Similar heavy movements of people have

> taken place in previous decades. But the circumstances surrounding the recent migration have been, and are, ones which cause destitution, disillusionment, and sharply increased competition for jobs and farms.
>
> Along with city public relief agencies, the Farm Security Administration has borne the brunt of a demand to help remedy economic and social problems attending this migration. About 190,000, or 41 percent, of the people who have come to the Northwest since 1930 are people of farm background and experience. They want farms and farm work. In general, the supply of farms and farm work has been far short of the demand.
>
> * * * In view of this situation, the Farm Security Administration in the Northwest has launched and operated a relocation program in an attempt to give guidance and financial assistance to migrating farmers who would otherwise be victimized by prevailing conditions. This activity has been carried forward mainly through our standard rehabilitation loan and grant program. * * *

Several witnesses praised the cooperative phases of the work of the Farm Security Administration. The Farm Security Administration has instituted several degrees, or levels, of cooperative activity ranging from cooperative ownership of machinery, blooded stock, and other facilities to full-time cooperative farms. Among the experts favoring this latter type of production cooperative the view is held that further and widespread industrialization of agriculture is inevitable. By the cooperative device, proponents have urged, it will be possible for large numbers of small farmers to utilize technological improvements without loss of ownership of the land for large numbers of people.

OTHER PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATIVE ACTIVITY

On the subject of cooperatives in general, Walter E. Packard' economic consultant of Berkeley, Calif., stated before the committee:

> Cooperation, if considered within its broad horizon, can be a tremendous factor in creating new opportunities for employment and in increasing the national income. There is no physical reason why the low income and destitute farm population cannot find, along with others in like circumstances, a place of security on a relatively high standard of living. But not wholly on the land by any means. There are more people now engaged in agriculture than can be maintained on the land at an acceptable standard. The problem goes to the root of our economy. To accomplish the desired ends, our way of doing things must be geared to the requirements of machine production. The logic of technology is a high standard of living for all. And the necessary adjustment requires cooperation on a broad front and in many lines.

SOIL CONSERVATION

One of the many activities undertaken at present by the Federal Government to assist the farmer is the program of soil conservation, for which responsibility rests with the Department of Agriculture. During the hearings, extension of soil-conservation policies now in effect was advocated by several witnesses. Other experts who appeared presented detailed analyses of soil-conservation practices and their relation to migration. By conserving and improving the soil, it was argued, some of the economic factors that have driven people from the land, among them soil erosion, are removed or at least halted. A general strengthening of soil-conservation work, then, would assist in preventing destitute migration. As a supplement to their remarks in this connection, some of the experts suggested a rural public-works program to be undertaken with a long-range objective of soil conservation. As pointed out in the testimony of experts from the Soil

Conservation Service at Lincoln, Nebr., the work of this agency is of considerable variety:

> The Secretary of Agriculture—

these experts noted—

> has placed upon the Soil Conservation Service responsibility for the management of the departmental land-use programs that involve the Department's participation in operations on agricultural lands, including erosion control, submarginal-land purchases and development, the agricultural phases of flood control, water-facilities development, farm forestry, and drainage and irrigation.
>
> The scope and objectives of the Soil Conservation Service have thus been greatly broadened. What was formerly an agency concerned primarily with the conservation of soil and water resources is now an agency concerned with promoting adjustments to achieve better land use, permanent systems of farming, long-time tenure, owner-operated units, and discouragement of migratory tendencies.

RECLAMATION AND MIGRATION

The testimony bearing on the issue of reclamation and migration brought into the record a great body of opinion, dealing principally with two points: The question of how people who have already become migrants may become settled, and to what extent a program of water conservation and irrigation may act as a factor retarding potential migration from areas of low rainfall.

Regarding the Great Plains area in particular, some experts noted that the drought was the prime cause of the uprooting of thousands of farmers in this area. Any reclamation program must, it was held, take into consideration the question of irrigation and saving of available water supply.

Some witnesses suggested that reclaimed land be used to resettle agricultural migrants. Ranged alongside these proposals were the problem to which it was stated this move would give rise, namely, the problem of obtaining capital on the part of the migrant, the type of land policy to be followed, and the extent to which such a program would absorb the numbers of farm families now on the road.

The testimony of Marion Clawson, principal field representative of the Department of Agriculture, in the Pacific Northwest, presented at San Francisco, contains a discussion of some of the points enumerated above.

> On the whole—

this witness told the committee—

> resettlement on a reclamation project represents one of the best opportunities open to the migrant with limited capital resources and with agricultural background and experience. Reclamation projects offer such migrants an opportunity to convert labor into income and into wealth. This opportunity has serious limitations, however, and the destitute or near destitute migrant settler on a reclamation project is faced with many hardships. Settlement on reclamation projects is a form of modern pioneering and, like pioneering of earlier periods, hardship is unavoidable. At best the settler requires some capital in order to improve his farm and to provide a living for his family until the farm is in a productive state. The amount of this capital varies considerably, depending upon the circumstances of the area, but exceeds $3,000 under practically all conditions. The interstate migrant who settles on reclamation projects is generally faced with a new type of agriculture and with new problems to be solved. He requires special technical guidance and assistance in order to make the most effective use of the opportunity offered to him.
>
> Although there are Federal and State agencies which can and do assist interstate migrants who locate upon reclamation projects, none of these agencies has the authority or funds to provide adequate assistance to the migrant. These

agencies are willing to assist migrants not only by means of their regular program but also by means of any special programs which they have the authority to initiate, but they are not equipped to perform all the services needed by the migrant. Moreover, the migrant is forced to make contacts with a large number of agencies and this is always a bewildering and unsatisfactory experience for him.

AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION

Policies of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the system of benefit payments prevailing under the program being administered by this agency received detailed consideration at the committee's hearings. Almost without exception, the experts who came before the committee agreed that the benefit payments have generally been converted into capital with which to further mechanized farming operations. There was criticism of some aspects of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration policies, especially the size of benefit payments.

Among the witnesses who recommended drastic reduction in the upper limit of an Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefit was E. A. Willson, executive director of the public welfare board of North Dakota. In response to a question from the committee, Mr. Willson suggested that the limitation should be—

> less than a thousand dollars, to encourage help to the family-size farm and discourage the larger operator.

The testimony of Alfred R. Barnes, chairman of the South Dakota Agricultural Soil Conservation Committee, during the Lincoln, Nebr., hearings contained praise for activities of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Mr. Barnes credited the benefit payments with lessening the migration of people in the Great Plains area and strengthening of farm tenure in the region. In addition, he said, the numerous dams built under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program—

> have done a great deal to lessen the effect of water shortage in case of serious drought.

Uniform Settlement Laws and Federal Aid to General Relief

The recommendations made with respect to uniform settlement laws and the need for Federal provision for general relief, either directly administered by the Federal Government or of the type of Federal grants-in-aid, are treated in a separate section because this group of recommendations developed more differences of opinion among witnesses than those listed above.

Ten or more expert witnesses recommended to the committee that an attempt be made to secure uniform settlement laws in the various States.

The abolition of settlement laws was recommended by Glen Leet, administrator of public assistance, Rhode Island State Department of Welfare; and by Frank W. Goodhue, director of the division of aid and relief, Massachusetts State Department of Public Welfare.

In addition, some of the witnesses who recommended uniform settlement laws felt that abolition would be desirable, but difficult to attain.

Gov. Culbert L. Olson, of California; David C. Adie, commissioner of welfare, New York State; James J. Wadsworth, New York State assemblyman; and Ralph Astrofsky, director of division of shelter care, Department of Public Welfare, New York City, were among those who recommended that settlement laws should be so phrased that an individual once having gained a settlement would not lose it until he had succeeded in acquiring another.

The opinion that adequate care for migrants could not be achieved without a general strengthening of the entire relief program was expressed by Miss Loula Dunn, commissioner of welfare for the State of Alabama; Joel D. Hunter, general superintendent, United Charities in Chicago; and Neil H. Jacoby, chairman of the Illinois Emergency Relief Administration.

This group was joined by representatives of the welfare councils of the City of New York in expressing the belief that changes in settlement laws might be brought about as a condition of Federal grants-in-aid to the States.

Several witnesses, including Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins; Paul D. Benner, director of the bureau of public assistance, Kansas State Department of Social Welfare; and E. A. Willson, executive director of the Public Welfare Board of North Dakota recommended a Federal policy of grants-in-aid to the States to provide relief for migrants, transients, and unsettled persons.

Of the broad group of witnesses who discussed this problem more than half recommended as did Miss Jane Hoey, director of the Division of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board, that a fourth category of general relief be added to the Social Security Act to take care of all individuals not now provided for.

In opposing this point of view, Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, of New York City, and Miss Edith Abbott, dean of the School of Social Work, Chicago University, advocated complete governmental responsibility. Mayor La Guardia stated that the program should be entirely a Federal one with Federal funds administered by Federal officials, and Miss Abbott said:

> My plan is that we should have a Federal agency that is more comprehensive in its scope than W. P. A. That is, it should be an unemployment work and assistance agency, so that this agency would take care of providing either work or maintenance or retraining or transference to another area, or whatever the unemployed needed; but that the unemployed people, instead of being left to all of these local authorities all over, would be the responsibility of a Federal agency.

The Secretary of Labor and Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, advocated the extension of Federal aid to child-welfare services under the Social Security Act and the expansion of existing health services.

Migratory Labor *in*
AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor

The President's Commission on Migratory Labor

Maurice T. Van Hecke, *Chairman*

Noble Clark
William M. Leiserson
Robert E. Lucey
Peter H. Odegard

Varden Fuller, *Executive Secretary*

Letter of Transmittal

MARCH 26, 1951.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Your Commission on Migratory Labor created June 3, 1950, submits herewith its report.

This report deals primarily with migratory labor in agriculture; migratory labor in industry is referred to only incidentally.

May we take this occasion to call your attention to some of our major recommendations?

In the present emergency, first reliance should be placed on using our domestic labor force more effectively. No special measures should be adopted to increase the number of alien contract laborers beyond the number admitted in 1950. Future efforts should be directed toward supplying agricultural labor needs with our own workers and eliminating dependence on foreign labor.

Foreign-labor importation should be undertaken only pursuant to the terms of intergovernmental agreements. The conditions and standards of employment should be substantially the same for all countries. The administration of foreign-labor recruiting, contracting, transportation, and agreements should be made the direct responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This should be the principal contracting agency and private employers should secure their foreign workers exclusively from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Legislation is needed to make it unlawful to employ aliens who have entered the United States illegally. Legalization and contracting of aliens illegally in the United States should be discontinued and forbidden.

The economic aspects of domestic migratory farm labor are dealt with in recommendations relating to:

(*a*) improvements in labor management and personnel policies, job standards and job rights, and employee-employer relations;

(*b*) more orderly methods of bringing men and employment together, a more effective use of the local labor supply, more continuous employment for the workers, and a stable labor supply for farm employers;

(*c*) improved housing;

(*d*) a minimum wage for agricultural workers.

To aid in carrying out our recommendations, to coordinate the agencies of the Government in their activities relating to migratory farm labor, and to cooperate with the States, there should be established a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, appointed by and responsible to the President. The Committee would be composed of three public members, one of whom would serve full time as chairman, and of one member from each of the following agencies: the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and State, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Federal Security Agency.

During the last fifty years migratory labor has been dealt with in many investigations and reports by Federal, State, and private agencies. Not much has been accomplished. We earnestly hope that this report will enable you to initiate changes in administration and legislation that will lead to the correction of the fundamental causes of the various problems, with resulting benefits to the migratory farm workers, to the farm employers, and to the public.

We want to thank you for the privilege of working on this project. We await your further instructions.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) NOBLE CLARK.
WILLIAM M. LEISERSON.
ROBERT E. LUCEY.
PETER H. ODEGARD.
MAURICE T. VAN HECKE, *Chairman.*

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And the Commission records its indebtedness to the representatives of the foreign, State, and local governments, the workers, labor organizations, employers, social workers, health authorities, educational leaders, and religious groups. Their testimony, statements, and suggestions provided opportunity for first-hand knowledge of the many different facets of the complex problems encountered.

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[1] On full-time loan from the Farm Home Administration.

The Commission's Hearings, Conferences, and Studies

During the summer and early fall of 1950, the Commission held twelve public hearings in Brownsville, Tex.; El Paso, Tex.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Portland, Oreg.; Fort Collins, Colo.; Memphis, Tenn.; Saginaw, Mich.; Trenton, N. J.; West Palm Beach, Fla.; and two in Washington, D. C. These hearings were regional in coverage. The witnesses who testified included representatives of farmers, growers, processors, employees, labor organizations, officers of the Federal, State, and local governments, social workers, health authorities, educational leaders, religious groups, and numbers of the migrant workers themselves. The verbatim transcripts of these hearings constitute an important public record of fact and opinion relating to migrant farm labor.

In connection with most of the hearings, the Commission made field trips for observation of actual conditions and for talks with workers, employers, and others on the ground.

The Commission has held two general conferences in Washington with representatives of the interested Government agencies, namely, the various divisions of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and State, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Federal Security Agency. The first conference, in June, was to enable them to brief the Commission on the problems incident to migratory labor; the second, in November, was for discussion of their specific recommendations. There have been many conferences between representatives of the Commission and officers of the Government concerned with particular aspects of migrant labor.

Other Commission conferences deserve special mention: Those with the State agencies established to deal with migratory labor, including the California, Colorado, New Jersey, and New York Commissions and a number of State interagency committees; those with representatives of the Governments of Mexico and Puerto Rico; and those with the American Farm Economics Association and the Directors of the State Agricultural Extension Services. In addition, a member of the Commission, by invitation, attended, as an observer, a conference between the Department of State and representatives of the Government of the British West Indies, a hearing and a conference conducted by the Farm Labor Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, and a conference of the Advisory Council to the United States Employment Service.

Members of the Commission's staff have made a number of special studies of particular problems. Other memoranda on various technical subjects have been prepared for the Commission by the responsible Government agencies. It is hoped that a selected group of these may be published separately.

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Chapter 1

Why Do We Have Migratory Workers and Who Are They?

In the Executive order, this Commission was directed to investigate the following:

(*a*) Social, economic, health, and educational conditions among migratory workers;

(*b*) Problems created by the migration of workers into the United States for temporary employment;

(*c*) Responsibilities assumed by Federal, State, and local authorities for alleviating conditions among migratory workers;

(*d*) Agricultural labor needs, sufficiency of domestic supplies, extent to which foreign workers may be required;

(*e*) Problems created by illegal entry of foreign workers and means of strengthening law enforcement to eliminate such illegal migration.

A migratory farm laborer is a worker whose principal income is earned from temporary farm employment and who in the course of his year's work moves one or more times, often through several States. We do not regard as a migratory worker one who is employed at temporary jobs within daily driving distance of his home, nor one who moves his household from one place to another and thereafter remains more or less permanently. In either of these cases employment could be the same as that performed by migratory workers. Whether a person is a migratory worker depends not primarily on the kind of work he does but rather on whether he maintains a stable home the year round. Seasonal and temporary farm work is done by both migratory and nonmigratory workers. As we shall see later, more nonmigratory than migratory workers are employed at seasonal and temporary farm work.

We do not find that people become migrants primarily because they want or like to be migrants. Nor do we find that any large portion of American agricultural employment necessarily requires migrant workers. The economy of this Nation has a great deal of seasonal employment other than that in farming. Yet it is only in agriculture that migratory labor has become a problem of such proportions and complexity as to call for repeated investigations by public bodies.

Among the reasons for migrancy, the foremost is that many people find it impossible to make a living in a single location and hence have had to become migratory. Technological displacement, business recession and consequent unemployment in industry, drought and crop failure, radical changes in the sharecropper system, lack of education and vocational training—these are among the basic factors responsible for migrancy. The migratory workers themselves, and their employers as well, testified at our hearings that migrants want steady jobs and that, given the opportunity to settle down, they do so. It is true that, for some, repeated moving has become a habit. There are undoubtedly many who, in trying to make a living at unreliable jobs, have become unreliable people. On the other hand, many who are considered by some to be unreliable are praised by others as good workers. Time after time we were told that domestic migrants are "unreliable," "unwilling to work," "no good." For example, Texas farm employers told us that Texas-Mexicans were "no good," but farm employers in Arizona, Colorado, and other States told us with equal emphasis that the same Texas-Mexicans are good and reliable workers.

No large group of migrants has remained permanently migratory. This probably is the best evidence that people are not migrants by choice. Prior to the immigration law of 1917, we depended on European immigrants for temporary and seasonal farm work. Many years ago, farm employers of the West Coast thought they had a permanent migratory labor force in the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus. However, none of these remained migrants. Perhaps the "bindle stiff" and the "hobo" of the 1910's and 1920's were the nearest approach to professional migrants this country has ever had. But they, too, have settled down and no longer count significantly in our migratory work force.

In the thirties the largest element in our migratory labor group was the "Okie," the collective name applied to displaced people of the farms and service trades of the "dust bowl" area including Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas. Many of these people were migratory workers through the thirties but they resettled whenever the opportunity appeared. This "settling down" of the Okie group was accelerated by the more favorable economic climate of the past decade. No longer does this group remain the principal element in the Nation's migratory work force.

"Texas-Mexicans," the term commonly applied to those Texans of Mexican or other Latin American origin, have emerged in the past decade as the largest group in our Nation's domestic migratory work force. In previous years, this group was migratory within Texas and from Texas into the Mountain and Great Lake States. But recently its migrancy has increased both in scale and in the area through which it moves. The primary reason for this increase of migrancy is pressure from the great influx of illegal Mexican aliens which has made it increasingly necessary for Texas-Mexicans to leave their homes annually in search of better wages and greater employment opportunity elsewhere.

In the past two decades, there has developed another clearly identified migratory group made up almost exclusively of Negroes who have their home base in Florida. Many of these are ex-sharecroppers or their descendants from other Southern States. They spend the winter in Florida and in the spring and summer follow a northward course along the Atlantic shore reaching through the Carolinas, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, and even into Maine. These workers are now being described as professional migrants. Yet there is evidence that they, too, will settle down when the environment is favorable.

Within the past decade there is much evidence that, with the opportunity to do so, the migrants of today, like their predecessors, drop out of migratory life. In 1940, there were an estimated 1 million domestic migrant workers. As employment opportunities were improved during the war, the number was reduced to 600,000. In the postwar years, it has grown again to a million. However, of this total number, domestic migrants represent only about one-half. The other half is made up of approximately 100,000 Mexicans legally under contract, a relatively small number of British West Indians and Puerto Ricans, and, by far the most important, illegal Mexican workers who in recent years have amounted to an estimated 400,000.

Migrants are children of misfortune. They are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change. We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers and when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply.

Migratory Farm Laborers and the Community

Migratory farm laborers move restlessly over the face of the land, but they neither belong to the land nor does the land belong to them. They pass through community after community, but they neither claim the community as home nor does the community claim them. Under the law, the domestic migrants are citizens of the United States but they are scarcely more a part of the land of their birth than the alien migrants working beside them.

The migratory workers engage in a common occupation, but their cohesion is scarcely greater than that of pebbles on the seashore. Each harvest collects and regroups them. They live under a common condition, but create no techniques for meeting common problems. The public acknowledges the existence of migrants, yet declines to accept them as full members of the community. As crops ripen, farmers anxiously await their coming; as the harvest closes, the community, with equal anxiety, awaits their going.

The migratory labor force in agriculture has long been an object of uneasy concern among those bearing responsibility for the public well-being. Half a century ago the United States Industrial Commission quoted one of its agricultural experts as saying:

> * * * the annual inundation of grain fields in harvestime, hop yards in picking season, fruit picking in districts of extensve market orchards, and similar harvest seasons requiring large numbers of hands for a short time, has a demoralizing effect on farm labor, reducing its efficiency in those lines. Such employments demand little skill; the requirements of each are simply and easily satisfied. They constitute a low order of farm labor, if worthy to be classed with it at all, and are excrescences upon its fair face.

The evil that the Industrial Commission perceived has grown. In the past 50 years there has been much social progress for virtually all Americans, but for migratory workers depressed conditions still prevail.

Migrants generally are easily identified as outsiders. Their faces are those of strangers and, for many of them, differences of color and other physical characteristics serve as badges of identification. Their heavily laden cars or trucks, packed with beds, cooking utensils, and furniture are easily distinguished from those of campers on vacation. Even their work clothes by material, style, or cut seem to indicate an outside origin. All along the way are those who take advantage of the migratory worker's helplessness. Professional gamblers, prostitutes, and peddlers of dope follow the work routes to obtain, each in his own way, a share of the migrant's money.

Residents tend to separate migrants from themselves in domicile and law, in thought and feeling. They assign special places to migrants seeking shelter, or leave them to go where their poverty and condition force them. Here they encamp in tents or simply under canvass supported by a rope strung between two trees or from the side of the car to the ground. They sleep on pallets, or on bedsprings or folding cots which some of them carry. Where rains are frequent during work season they find shelter in crude shacks. On farms they use what shelter their employers may provide.

The lines of segregation are further sharpened, particularly for Negroes, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans by differences of skin color, stature, and language. For several years the Mexican Government declined to allow its citizens to go to Texas under the Mexican-United States International Agreement because of the flagrant social discriminations under which they had to live.

Customs, codes, and laws, like plants, take root, grow, and endure best in soils that stay in place. The customs of migratory farm laborers rarely find their way into codes and laws, at the close of the season when the people scatter, their ways vanish with them.

Established residence is the primary qualification for exercising the right to vote. By the very nature of their occupation, migratory workers find it difficult to qualify. In some States an additional obstacle is the poll tax. It is not surprising under these circumstances that the interests of migrants are easily slighted in the laws.

Take, for example, the laws governing education, relief, health, and other social benefits. Migrants work in communities where they do not live. Since it is not working in a community but *living* in it that confers a legal right to such benefits, the migratory worker is usually excluded. During the great distress migration of the 1930's, some State legislatures increased these residence qualifications. The migratory worker was adversely affected by this in two ways: (1) It became more difficult for him to acquire legal residence in the State into which he moved, and (2) the State from which he migrated took steps to bar claims based on former residence. These barriers remain generally on the statute books today.

State barriers are compounded and reenforced by those set up in the county. "Willful absence from the county" for more than 6 months is one device used to deprive returning migrants of their rights. Administrators find residence requirements a convenient reason for denying basic rights to migrants. Thus State by State, county by county, township by township, nearly every unit of government seeks to evade responsibility for these migratory workers.

These characteristics have been discussed as relating primarily to domestic migratory farm workers, i. e., to those who are United States citizens in name, but who, because they migrate, fail to share the rights, privileges, and full benefits of our citizenship. Many of the same characteristics apply equally to migrant workers who come from abroad. All migratory farm workers, citizen and alien alike, perform similar work, serve the same employers, and are segregated in some degree from the communities in which they work. Yet in some important respects, their situations are different.

Domestic migratory farm workers not only have no protection through collective bargaining but employers as a rule refuse to give to them the guarantees they extend to alien contract workers whom they import. These include guarantees of employment, workmen's compensation, medical care, standards of sanitation, and payment of the cost of transportation. As these protections can be extended to alien contract migrants, it ought to be feasible to extend them also to domestic migratory workers.

Domestic farm migrants do, however, have one security which alien contract labor does not have: Whether they quit or are discharged, they cannot be deported. Last in order of security and first in order of exclusion from the community is the illegal Mexican alien, commonly referred to as a "wet back." Under constant threat of apprehension and deportion, his life is one of furtive insecurity. In the hands of employers inclined to make use of the wetback's disabilities, the result is virtually peonage. Moreover, the ramifications of the wetback traffic spread to the community at large. Those of the community who oppose the wetback system and would be rid of it come to live in fear of reprisals from those who seek its perpetuation.

What Does Migratory Labor Contribute to the Nation's Agriculture?

In recent decades, the Nation's agriculture has year by year needed successively less manpower. Mechanization and continuously improved techniques of production are the main reasons for this. In consequence, agriculture is overcrowded and there is a persistent though irregular movement of population out of agriculture which carries along both farm families and hired workers. If this movement were abrupt, those "belonging" to agriculture could be clearly identified. However, it is not abrupt or clean-cut. Rather, the separation is partial and gradual, in the sense that many hang on and eke out an existence at extremely low levels of income. This "hanging on" occurs with farmers and with hired labor as well. Farm economists estimate that half of the Nation's 6 million farms could supply the needed food and fiber. That is to say, the less productive half of our farms add little to the total commercial product. From an economic point of view, these farm operators might better be employed at other occupations.

There are now roughly 4¼ million wage earners who depend principally on farm employment for their incomes. Most of these will find employment in September when farm work is at its peak. When farm work is slack in December and January, less than 1 million are employed. If hired workers are grouped according to the farm employment they receive, the numbers by amounts of employment are approximately:

Year-round (250 or more days' employment	600 thousand
Regular (150 to 250 days' employment)	400 thousand
Seasonal nonmigratory (under 150 days' employment)	2¼ million
Migratory	1 million

It is evident that the majority of those supplying labor to agriculture are part time and temporary employees. They serve but they do not really "belong." Their jobs are tenuous and insecure. Migratory laborers are at the bottom of this heap of insecurity and suffer from chronic underemployment and poverty.

Most of the Nation's farm work is done by working farmers and members of their families, embracing approximately 10 million workers. For every hired agricultural laborer, there are between two and three farm family workers and of the hired farm laborers less than one-fourth of them are migratory. In terms of the total farm work force of the Nation—family and hired workers together—migrants number only 1 in 14.

Migratory workers receive less employment than any other farm workers. Consequently, their contribution to the Nation's farm work is not in proportion to their numbers. Primarily because of underemployment, migratory laborers supply only 3 to 4 percent of the man-days of work that are used to produce the Nation's farm output. Although their contribution in total is not great, it is most significant at the critical periods of crop production.

Migratory labor is employed principally in cotton, fruits, vegetables, and sugar beets. Dairy farms, livestock farms, poultry farms, and diversified general farms hire virtually no migratory labor. The work on the latter type of farm is done almost exclusively with family workers and regularly hired or year-round wage hands.

Not all farms producing cotton, fruits, vegetables, and sugar beets employ migrants. In fact, migratory farm workers are primarily employed on a comparatively small number of farms which use large quantities of labor, i. e., 250 man-days or more per year or more. There are approximately 125,000 such farms. They amount to 2 percent of the farms of the Nation and produce crops equal to approximately 7 percent of the value of all farm products.

A small proportion of the Nation's migratory labor force is employed on small farms and family farms. This occurs in areas and on farms which specialize in the production of crops having a short but high seasonal labor demand. When important seasonal activities occur at about the same time, the labor needs become intense and many farms in the area may then become dependent on migratory labor. In many cases, these small farms are in a sense "captive farms" because they are dependent upon large-scale food processors or sugar-refining companies to supply them with their seasonal labor and to buy their crop. This, for example, is the problem in Michigan where farms are not generally large-scale or industrial but are specialized in producing truck crops, fruits, and sugar beets. Nevertheless, small and family farms which need seasonal labor are generally able to meet their labor needs with temporary workers from within their own communities.

In substance, then, the role of migratory labor in the Nation's agricultural economy comes to this:

(*a*) Migratory workers are 7 percent of the Nation's farm manpower; they perform less than 5 percent of the man-days of work.

(*b*) The farm employers who depend to any significant extent on migratory labor and who are the principal employers of migratory labor amount to only approximately 125,000 or 2 percent of the Nation's farmers. These farms produce less than one-tenth of the value of the national farm output.

(*c*) Small farms in areas where production is specialized in crops having highly seasonal labor demands also use significant amounts of seasonal labor, some of which is migratory. Here the contribution of migrants is secondary, however, because it serves mainly to supplement family and local labor.

From the standpoint of the total agricultural labor supply, migratory labor is not, therefore, a problem on most of the Nation's farms. It is primarily a special concern of a small number of large and highly specialized farm employers.

Notwithstanding that farm migrants are only 7 percent of the Nation's farm manpower and do less than 5 percent of the Nation's farm work, migratory farm labor cannot be dismissed as having little significance. To the migrants themselves the problem is of great and pressing importance. Moreover, in addition to the human problems involved, the system of migrant labor has implications for our economy and for our culture which we should no longer neglect.

More Food, Fewer Workers, Less Dependable Employment

Past decades have witnessed revolutionary changes in labor productivity in American agriculture. These changes are significant when manpower needs and employment opportunities are considered. Though the developments are general throughout all agriculture and apply to all types of agricultural manpower, certain of them are of special significance to the problems of migratory and seasonal labor. These changes in productivity and their relation to labor requirements are graphically set forth in charts I and II.

Farm output in the past decade greatly expanded, but this expansion was achieved without increasing the labor needed on the Nation's farms. On the contrary, the total labor required has declined as productivity per man-hour of work has increased. It is notable that productivity per man-hour of labor continued to rise consistently through World War II.

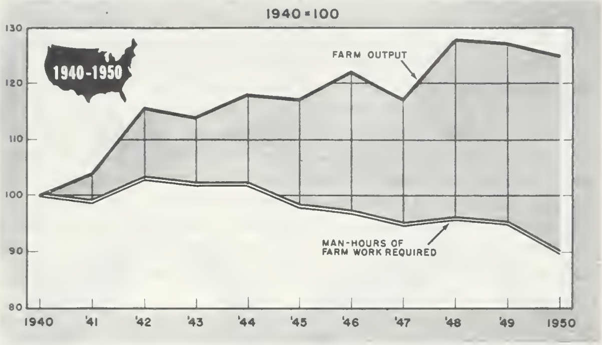
This greater productivity has been achieved through using more and improved machines and better farming practices. In 1949 we produced 27 percent more than in 1940, but our labor requirement was 5 percent less than in 1940. As the United States Department of Agriculture reported with respect to the economic outlook for 1951, "The big supply of power and machines now on farms means not only that less time is needed for farm work but also that farmers are better equipped than ever before for an emergency."

Along with the reduction in man-hours of labor needed, the total number of workers in agriculture also has declined. Employment of hired workers, working farmers, and unpaid members of farm families decreased by 8 percent between 1940 and 1949.

Mechanization and improved farm technology have helped us to produce more with less labor. The national diet has become more bounti-

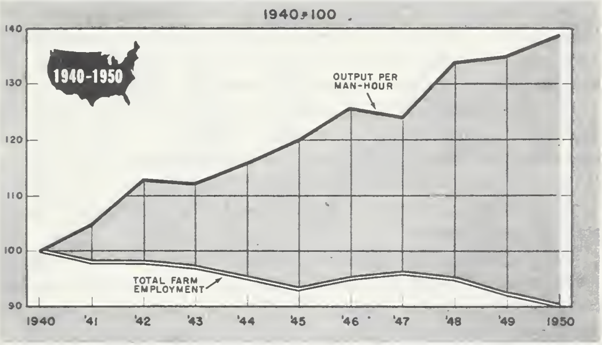
CHANGES IN FARM OUTPUT
AND REQUIRED MAN-HOURS OF FARM WORK

Chart I



CHANGES IN OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR
AND TOTAL FARM EMPLOYMENT

Chart II



ful in quality, quantity, variety, and nutritional value.. But in contributing to this bounty, machines have had a disproportionate impact on various types of farm work. By replacing horses and mules, machines have greatly reduced the workstock that is kept on American farms. The winter employment that formerly was involved in caring for work stock and equipment has now been largely eliminated. Mechanization of the preharvest phases of crop production has gone further than in harvesting operations, although mechanization of the wheat, corn, and hops harvests are notable exceptions. Many of the major harvests remain yet unmechanized. Moreover, the acreages of many crops requiring hand harvest have expanded in recent years. In consequence of these various developments, the seasonal character of the Nation's farm labor demand has become more extreme. The active work season has been shortened and the brief harvest period is yielding less employment for the workers.

The drastic changes in patterns of annual farm employment are seen by making comparisons of seasonal variations in farm employment for hired workers now with those of approximately two decades ago. These comparisons are graphed for four regions in chart III.

The charts for the East North Central and West North Central States are significant in that they show a tremendous drop in employment during the winter months and no increase in summer employment. In both areas the work season was greatly shortened.

The charts for the Southern States show some reduction in labor use during the winter, but the outstanding change is in the piling up of labor demands during the summer. This increase is partially due to the substitution of seasonal wage hands for sharecroppers. The change again is toward a larger proportion of workers who have only a short season of employment.

Two decades ago, almost one-half of the Nation's hired farm workers could get employment 12 months in the year; now, less than one-fifth can get a full year of employment. In 1949, the number of workers who could get a full year's work was 800,000 less than in 1931. In 1931, 70 percent of all workers could get work for 8 months or more; by 1949 only 40 percent could get that much employment.

The above figures are based on the amounts of employment which actually occurred, as reported by the United States Department of Agriculture. Because of the loss of time between jobs and competition among workers for such jobs as are available, the employment experience of individual workers would be even less favorable. In other words, because of loss of time in moving from one job to the next, the average amount of work actually received per worker would be less than the charts indicate. This is especially true for migratory workers. Region

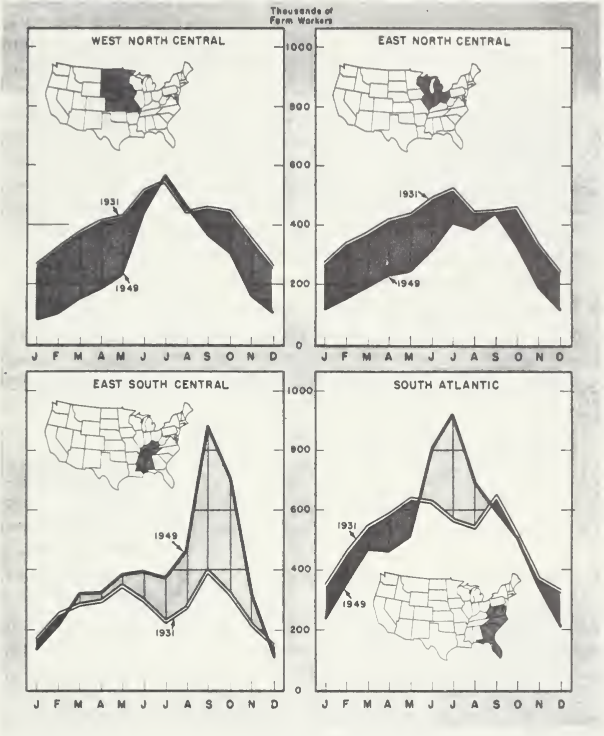
Changes in Seasonal Employment of

HIRED FARM WORKERS

Month by Month 1931 and 1949

Four Regions

Chart III



by region, the changes in the proportion of all workers needed for the full year are as follows:

Region	Proportion needed 12 months	
	1931	1949
	Percent	*Percent*
New England	55	31
Middle Atlantic	45	31
East North Central	46	26
West North Central	48	15
South Atlantic	52	22
East South Central	37	12
West South Central	39	11
Mountain States	38	19
Pacific States	52	16
Average for all regions	46	19

On the other hand, we find at the present time that one-fourth of all hired farm labor is needed for 2 months or less. These figures, for all hired farm workers and not for the migratory workers alone, are as follows:

Region	Proportion of workers needed for 2 months or less	
	1931	1949
	Percent	*Percent*
New England	5	25
Middle Atlantic	11	11
East North Central	12	13
West North Central	16	21
South Atlantic	4	25
East South Central	20	47
West South Central	13	34
Mountain States	13	10
Pacific States	7	17
Average for all regions	11	27

Obviously, the economic status of the majority of farm workers is more precarious as their employment base becomes narrower. In consequence, the economic status of the majority of farm workers is becoming similar to that of the migrant. Continuously shorter periods of employment opportunity explain why so many of our farm workers have had to take to the road in an effort to lengthen their period of employment and thus earn enough to obtain the bare necessities of life. These facts about employment give a foundation to the stories that have recently spread across the Nation of the poverty and hunger of migrant farm families.

Prospects for Mechanizing "Stoop" Labor Tasks

The mechanization that has contributed so much to increasing productivity of agricultural labor in general has been particularly important in cultivation and preharvest operations and in general farming. The hand tasks in fruits, vegetables, and other intensively cultivated crops have not been proportionally mechanized. However, progress is being made in the mechanization of some of these "stoop" labor tasks, particularly in sugar beets and cotton.

In California, the Commission found far-reaching changes in such mechanization already under way and in prospect. The effect of such changes on seasonal labor needs in sugar beets was reported to us by the executive manager of the California Beet Growers' Association:

> We have used, as I have said, great numbers of the so-called "stoop labor" class of labor throughout the years prior to the war. Today we don't use so much. We have gone through the whole gamut. We have used Chinamen, Japs, Hindus, Filipinos, Mexican Nationals, Mexican wetbacks, if you please, Indians, Negroes, Bahamians, prisoners of war and what-have-you. * * * We have always been willing to take any kind of labor that we could get when we needed them; domestic labor when it was available. When it wasn't we had to get what we could to get our crops harvested. * * * Today sugar-beet farmers are using very few Mexican Nationals because of our smaller requirements for stoop labor.

As implied in the foregoing testimony, sugar beets have in the past been heavily dependent on migratory labor. The effective application of mechanization is recent. In 1945, 30 percent of California's sugar-beet crop was harvested by machines; by 1950, the extent of machine harvesting had increased to between 85 and 90 percent, which is now believed to be the full extent of mechanization of the harvest. The sugar-beet industry of California, heretofore one of the State's major users of seasonal migratory labor, has thus reduced its harvest labor needs to such an extent that they are no longer of much significance. Labor requirements for preharvest handwork are being reduced, although this is being achieved primarily through changes in seeds and in planting and cultural practices rather than through mechanization. The continued need for preharvest handwork does not, however, aggravate seasonal labor requirements in California because it occurs at a time when other seasonal work is slack.

In contrast, the 100,000-acre sugar-beet crop in Michigan is at present much less mechanized. Here, less than 1 percent of the acreage was harvested mechanically in 1945. Since then, mechanization has progressed rapidly and it is estimated that 60 percent of the acreage was harvested by machines in 1950. Farm leaders in Michigan estimate that 95 percent of the sugar-beet acreage will be harvested by machines within 3 or 4 years. There remains a comparatively large need of seasonal hand labor for preharvest cultivation; in 1950, the estimate was that 15,000 seasonal workers were needed for spring work as compared with 5,000 for harvesting work. As in California, mechanization of preharvest handwork has been comparatively slow, but a mechanical beet thinner has already been proved experimentally practical and new cultivation methods are also in an advanced experimental stage.

Cotton stands alone in the magnitude of its dependence on migratory labor and in its association with Mexican contract labor and with the wetback traffic. But even here there is promise of change. From the manager of the Arizona Cotton Cooperative Growers' Association, we have this significant statement:

> Now, on the cotton-picking machines, we believe that we can see the time in the very near future when cotton-picking machines will eliminate most of the problems caused by migrant labor in Arizona. At the present time we have enough machines in this State to pick approximately 25 percent of this year's crop, if they are used full time. The machines must have careful operators and skillful operators. They cannot all be trained to use those overnight, but machines apparently are taking over the biggest part of the total. I think it is entirely possible that the problems which are created by this great influx of labor may be to a large extent removed or solved, and the grower will gain more economical harvesting of his cotton at a time when he wants to do it, making it unnecessary for him to worry much about the labor supply.
>
> However, machines will never replace all of the labor. Early in the season cotton must be picked by hand. Some growers will prefer to pick by hand. Even last year we had machines standing idle because there were hand pickers available.

Greater progress toward mechanization of the cotton harvest has been made in California than elsewhere. In the San Joaquin Valley, cotton is a major crop which at present employs 40 percent of all seasonal labor required in the valley. In 1945 less than 1 percent of the California cotton crop was picked by machines. Mechanical cotton pickers began to be introduced significantly in the postwar years; by 1948, 9 percent of the crop was picked by machine; in 1949, 17 percent; and it is estimated that 35 percent of the 1950 crop was picked mechanically. Qualified experts say that ultimately 90 percent of the crop in California will be harvested mechanically, and, moreover, that it is quite possible that this level of mechanization will be reached in less than a decade. This estimated level of mechanization will reduce seasonal labor needs to incidental amounts and will mean that only a few of the present 90,000 seasonal workers in the San Joaquin Valley cotton crop will any longer be needed.

On the other hand, mechanical cotton picking in the South has not yet developed far. The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, for example, which produces about the same quantity of cotton as the San Joaquin Valley of California, harvested only about 5 percent of its cotton by machines in 1950. This proportion of machine picking, compared with 35 percent in California, is particularly notable because there are actually more picking machines in the Delta than in the San Joaquin Valley.

There are evidently several reasons why mechanical pickers in the Delta are not in full use and for the slowness in mechanization. Adaptations to climate and environment have been more difficult. Wet weather, high humidity, rank growth of the cotton plant, and weeds are all serious problems. Lower wages are undoubtedly an additional and significant reason. With wage rates for cotton picking at present levels, there is little incentive to turn to machines because costs of hand picking and machine picking are too nearly equal.

The Commission was told, nevertheless, that mechanization of cotton picking in the Delta was only a question of time. Growers and agricultural experts are convinced that obstructions to mechanization can and will be removed. It is estimated that eventually 90 percent of the cotton on farms having 100 acres or more will be mechanized on both preharvest work and picking. This will include two-thirds of the cotton acreage of the Delta area.

It is notable also that experimental progress is being made toward mechanizing some hand work which is commonly thought not to be adaptable to mechanization. For example, in response to the question, "Is there any conceivable way of harvesting asparagus by mechanical equipment?", the executive secretary of the California Asparagus Growers Association, said:

> We have such a machine in the field this year. It is the second year of research into the development of mechanical harvesting. We feel that eventually we will develop a harvester that will handle the harvesting of asparagus. It is the aim of the industry.

Similarly, a spokesman for the California citrus fruit industry reported:

> We have in the research laboratories machines which will eventually take care of much of the need of additional labor in the citrus industry. Given another 3 or 4 years, assuming we can go along on normal production by using the inventive skill that we have, I don't think the citrus industry will be in need of this migrant labor. We will have machines to take their place. Of course, if we have to put that inventive capacity to war production, it might be postponed for a few

> years, but in the citrus industry, I don't think we will be asking for the importation of labor for too long.

As we saw in the preceding section of this chapter, mechanization and other changes in agricultural technology have had the effect of aggravating the seasonality of farm employment. Ultimately, parallel mechanization of hand tasks may restore greater balance to the seasonal distribution of farm employment. However, the facts above related only indicate the possibilities; they are not a comprehensive survey establishing probable occurrences. Notwithstanding the achievements already made and the prospects of further advances, it would be unwise to suppose that machines will soon entirely replace seasonal hand labor. Many fruit and vegetable harvests—cherries and green beans, for example—will be difficult to mechanize. Meanwhile, the plight of those who are trying to make a living from the short-term employment offered in agriculture remains a challenge to the Nation.

Labor Service, Not Jobs With Standards

The basic dilemma faced by farm employers, particularly those with farm operations requiring seasonal hands in large numbers, is this: They want a labor supply which, on the one hand, is ready and willing to meet the short-term work requirements and which, on the other hand, will not impose social and economic problems on them or on their community when the work is finished. This is what is expected of migratory workers. The demand for migratory workers is thus essentially twofold: To be ready to go to work when needed; to be gone when not needed.

To avoid the complications involved with domestic family migrants who find it difficult to be gone when not needed, many farm employers prefer alien labor. An employer of migratory labor from New Mexico testified: "One big advantage in using these alien laborers is that there is no social or economic problems during slack seasons as these men return to their homes in Mexico during such periods." And, similarly, from Connecticut: "* * * we have been able to meet our problems face to face and work out a program where, in the various periods of increased labor needs, we have been able to get a type of labor [alien men without their families] that is available during that period without having large numbers of persons to stay behind and become public charges. We consider that important."

Beyond wanting migrants to be available when needed and to be gone when not needed, they are expected to work under conditions no longer typical or characteristic of the American standard of life. In a period of rapidly advancing job and employment standards, we expect them to work at employment which, for all practical purposes, has no job standards. In saying this, we refer not alone to such matters as bad housing, poor sanitation, lack of medical facilities, and the problems of feeding, rearing, and schooling children. These are conditions which, over the years, have received condemnation, yet despite some improvement, for the most part they remain unsolved problems and there is little organized effort to deal with them.

In speaking of standards and conditions, we emphasize those surrounding the work itself. First among these is wages. To farm labor generally, and to migrants as well, we pay wage rates that are a little over one-third but well below one-half the average wage paid in manufacturing. To be sure, farm workers receive some perquisites, such as housing, which increase their real wages. But when the value of these perquisites for migratory farm workers was investigated by the United States Department of Agriculture in 1945, the average was about 36 cents a day. There is no reason to believe that any substantial change in perquisites has occurred since 1945. Migratory farm workers receive only about 100 days of employment per year; consequently, the average annual value of perquisites would be around $36 and certainly not over $50. By contrast, the perquisites furnished to industrial employees in the form of sickness benefits, pensions, welfare plans, paid vacations, and paid holidays now average approximately $120 per year.

Farm wages as compared with wages of workers in industry have been both better and worse than they are now. Going back to the years of 1910–14, which is the base period for determining parity prices of farm products, farm wages were two-thirds the wages of factory workers. Perquisites for farm workers were greater then, too, because the "hired man" often lived with the farm family. In the depression years, farm wages dropped to one-fourth the level of wages for labor in factories. During World War II, the ratio of farm wages to the wages of labor in manufacturing rose to 44 percent, but since 1946, this ratio has declined each year, reaching 37 percent in 1950.

It may be noted that while the drop in comparative wages during the depression was caused by oversupply—through unemployed industrial workers returning to farms—the present decline comes at a time when farm employers complain of labor shortage. Normally, if there were a labor shortage, wages would rise. Since on the contrary they have declined, it seems reasonable to infer that the supply of illegal alien labor, plus the contract labor the Government has admitted or imported, has helped to depress farm wages relative to factory wages.

Low wages, well below prevailing standards, are thus a major barrier to farm employment whether for migratory or nonmigratory workers. Next to wages, job security is an important condition of work. While security for most industrial workers is steadily broadening and improving, farm labor generally has only a minimum of job security and migratory labor virtually no security whatever. Comparatively few migrant farm workers return each year to the same farm employer; hence, very few are able to have dependable employment relationships. They do not have the job rights that are conferred through the principle of seniority now widely accepted in industry, or through the protection of Federal and State laws.

For the migrant, there are few elements of stability in his work. What the employer of migratory farm-labor hires is usually not *a man to fill a job,* but rather *labor service* such as picking hundredweights of cotton, hoeing acres of beets, and picking hampers of beans; and the wages are usually piece rates. The employment relationship is highly impersonal. Often the employer maintains no payroll and he does not know the names of his employees nor how many on any given day are working for him. When the work is ready, such matters as experience, prior employment, or residence in the area count for little or nothing. Hiring is on a day-by-day basis. Labor turn-over in a harvest crew may be 100 percent within a week or less. The work will be divided among those wanting it up to the maximum that the field will accommodate. Members of this Commission inspected a cucumber field in Colorado where 10 pickers could have done the work and earned a fair day's pay. But there were 40 pickers in the field and each was able to earn but a pittance.

The insecurity and obscurity of the employment relationship are aggravated when labor contractors are used. Workers testifying in California told us that it was difficult and often impossible to obtain a job directly from the farmer; instead, they were referred to labor contractors. Parallel with the obscure relationship of the individual worker to the farmer when a labor contractor stands between them is that introduced in some but not all instances when growers' or processors' associations undertake, on behalf of the individual farmer, many of the functions performed by the labor contractor. As we were told in Michigan by the president of such an association, "We have lost, through that set-up, the personal relationship between the grower and his employee * * *."

Obscurity and insecurity in the employment relationship are not the only consequences of the labor-contractor system. In the typical arrangement the contractor makes his profits out of the worker's wages. When the labor contractor is used, he recruits and furnishes the crew; the farm employer turns a given task over to him and pays an agreed-upon piece rate. The farmer pays the contractor and the contractor in turn pays the workers. The workers are paid less than the contractor receives, for it is out of this difference that the contractor makes his profit. The workers may be paid a wage rate that is quite independent of the rate paid by the farmer. Or the amount retained by the contractor may be a fixed percentage of the total compensation as in the case of a labor contractor in California who testified that his margin was 12 percent. Further, the contractor may provide certain services such as transportation, food, shelter, for which the workers must pay him at whatever charges the contractor may decide to assess. When we asked a labor contractor in New Jersey how much he charged for board, he replied: "If I pay them good, I charge them good." For the migratory farm worker the contractor system has all of the evils of the sweatshop system that disappeared long ago from American industry.

The work which migrants perform is undependable. Sudden changes in weather or crop conditions often mean that the work expected or promised is delayed or is not available. In industry workers are commonly protected against such work delays or failures by provisions allowing "showup time," "down time," or "stand-by pay." Such provisions are rare in American agriculture. In losing work time through these uncertainties, the worker bears the full insecurity of the job. Though the employer may undertake the risk in producing the crop, there is little sharing of the risk of employment uncertainties.

Finally, the migratory laborer has virtually none of the social protections we commonly extend to industrial workers. He has no unemployment insurance, no minimum-wage standards (except in the inadequate provisions of the Sugar Act), no old-age and survivors insurance, no disability insurance, and in most States he is not protected by workmen's accident insurance.

Unreliable Jobs, Unreliable Workers

Standards and conditions for farm laborers have not on balance improved much in the past half century. For the progressively smaller proportion that are employed the year round, living conditions are undoubtedly better. For the increasing majority temporarily employed, except for minor and isolated improvements in housing and sanitation, conditions have become worse because employment is more brief and uncertain. For those farm employers who rely on migratory workers, the problem of a labor supply is today almost identical with that of 40 years ago. In 1909 President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission found that—

> There is a growing tendency to rely on foreigners for the farm labor supply, although the sentiment is very strong in some regions against immigration. It is the general testimony that the native American labor is less efficient and less reliable than much of the foreign labor. This is due to the fact that the American is less pressed by the dire necessity to labor and to save, and because the better class of laborers is constantly passing on to land ownership on their own account.

In almost every region in which we held hearings some of the farm employers or their representatives who testified told us that the domestic labor supply was inadequate or unreliable, and that they must, therefore, have foreign labor. The following statements are representative of this position. They were all made to this Commission at hearings held in the summer and autumn of 1950. It must be emphasized that the spokesmen we quote do not represent the agriculture of the Nation or even a major portion of it. Indeed, they do not represent a majority of the Nation's farmers who are employers of labor. They do, however, represent that portion of the employers of migratory labor which has come to rely on foreign labor as a supplement to or substitute for domestic labor. Some of the statements by such employers are the following:

> *Arkansas.*—As I said there a while ago, cotton is a slave crop, nobody is going to pick it that doesn't have to. Now these Texas-Mexicans have found out that there are many other things that they can do, that they are ready to do, than pick cotton, and the [Mexican] national is about the only reservoir of labor that we know of that really wants to pick cotton, because he gets more money than he ever saw in his life before, or ever expected to see, and people that can get anything else to do, don't want to pick cotton.
>
> *California.*—Of all the groups tried, excepting the locals, the Mexican national is by all standards the best suited to this work. By temperament and aptitude, he seems especially adapted to farm employment. He, as a farmer, likes to work with living plants and trees. Mexico is one of the few remaining states which is still largely agrarian.
>
> *Colorado.*—Now the reasons why I take that position are: First, that this Mexican farm labor will and can do the type of work here required of foreign labor in a satisfactory way to the employer; secondly, the proximity of Mexico to this area is a big argument economically and otherwise; thirdly and lastly, the laborer from Mexico himself profits extraordinarily by accepting employment of the kind we are talking of. I said "lastly," but I want to put in another element. From a national point of view, I conceive, and I am convinced by my thought in the matter, that any nation is very fortunate if that nation can, from sources near at hand, obtain the services on beck and call of labor, adult male labor, on condition that when the job is completed the laborer will return to his home. That is exactly the situation of this area.
>
> *Connecticut.*—The Jamaicans have sold themselves to the communities there in Connecticut to a much greater extent than any other type of foreign labor, and particularly to a much greater extent than most of your [domestic] migratory labor could ever do.
>
> *Florida*—Naturally, the Association makes an effort through all possible sources to obtain such personnel from domestic sources, but since 1943 a sufficient number of domestic personnel ready, willing, and able to work has not been available. Hence the Association has continued to obtain the necessary authorization from the United States Employment Service and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to recruit and employ British West Indians.
>
> British West Indians employed by any member of Florida Sugar Producers Association have not at any time presented a social, economic, or health problem to any welfare organization or community in which they have been used.
>
> *New Mexico.*—The time has come when farmers along the southern

> border of the United States must stand up for their rights and demand that either the historic free movement of necessary seasonal labor from Mexico be permitted, * * * [or] that farmers be given, not a "new deal" nor a "fair deal," but a good, honest "square deal" in the use of Mexican seasonal labor.
>
> *Texas.*—Because of the shortage of local labor we are absolutely dependent upon Mexican labor to do the necessary grove work, likewise we are dependent upon Mexican labor for the harvesting of the fruit.

Although the labor supply problem of this group of farm employers has changed little in 40 years, there is a striking contrast in the changes that have taken place in the labor-supply problem of nonagricultural employers who at one time claimed that they, too, had to have immigrant labor. The Country Life Commission, 1909, reported the common problem of industry and agriculture:

> There is a general, but not universal, complaint of scarcity of farm labor. This scarcity is not an agricultural difficulty alone, but one phase for expression of the general labor-supply problem.

This parallel between agriculture and industry in getting a satisfactory labor supply soon changed, however. After World War I, immigration was greatly restricted by application of the 1917 Immigration Law. Thereafter, industry was no longer able to rely on immigrant sources for its labor supply. Manufacturing, construction, and other nonagricultural industries in the early twenties sent representatives to the House and Senate Immigration Committees to urge that in view of their dependence on foreign labor, the immigration laws be modified. The statements made 30 years ago on behalf of these industries are remarkably like the testimony this Commission has heard from agricultural employers in 1950. For example, in 1921, the Senate Committee on Immigration was told by the chairman of the National Federation of Construction Industries that:

> The greatest shortage in this country is unskilled or common labor. The American-born youth aspires to something better than unskilled labor and the only supply to keep the ranks of common labor full is through immigration.

In 1923, the National Association of Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers told the House Committee on Immigration that the same was true of the skilled trades:

> But you cannot get American boys to take up trades. In the first place, the social atmosphere of a trade is what they object to, and they rather resent the fact that they cannot mingle with everybody else, if they are a plumber or a tailor or a carpenter.

The following quotation from the New York Journal of Commerce was submitted to the House Committee on Immigration in 1923:

> A certain class of worker is necessary to the progress of our industries and the present immigration law has practically eliminated this class.

The hearings of the House and Senate Committees on Immigration in the early twenties reflected this commonly held opinion among nonfarm employers. The statements made then by nonfarm employers are similar to those made to this Commission by farm employers in 1950. Those who employ seasonal or migratory labor today are in a position on labor supply similar to that of nonfarm employers three decades ago. Industrial employers, however, were not permitted to have the immigrant labor supply that they demanded in the early twenties and such demands are no longer heard. Why do farm employers still demand importation of foreign labor while nonfarm employers, excepting the railroads during World War II, have long since abandoned such demands?

At least a partial answer to this question may be suggested: When industrial employers were denied the immigrant workers they demanded, they were compelled, among other things, to develop working conditions and job standards compatible with the expectations of American workers. Farm employers of migratory labor, on the other hand, continue to offer jobs and working conditions that are no better and in many respects are worse than those offered three and four decades ago. Having failed to move forward on employment standards and finding that domestic labor does not respond readily to the working conditions offered, farm employers now ask for foreign laborers willing to accept the low standards they offer, or who are compelled to do so by "dire necessity," to use the words of the Country Life Commission of 40 years ago.

In considering the problem of a reliable labor supply for agriculture, the Country Life Commission did not believe that the solution was to import foreign labor. Rather, the recommendation of that Commission was as follows:

> There is widespread conviction that the farmer must give greater attention to providing good quarters to laborers and to protect them from discouragement and from the saloon. The shortage of labor seems to be the least marked where the laborer is best cared for. *It is certain that farming itself must be so modified and organized as to meet the labor problem at least halfway.* While all farmers feel the shortage of help, the Commission has found that the best farmers usually complaint least about the labor difficult. [Emphasis added.]

Unfortunately, the advice of that Commission has not been heeded, at least so far as migratory farm workers are concerned. Save for exceptional instances, employers of migratory workers have not met the problem halfway.

The Issue of Public Policy

The issue we face as a matter of national policy is this: Shall we continue indefinitely to have low work standards and conditions of employment in agriculture, thus depending on the underprivileged and the unfortunate at home and abroad to supply and replenish our seasonal and migratory work force? Or shall we do in agriculture what we have already done in other sectors of our economy—create honest-to-goodness jobs which will offer a decent living so that domestic workers, without being forced by dire necessity, will be willing to stay in agriculture and become a dependable labor supply? As farm employers want able and willing workers when needed, so do workers want reliable jobs which yield a fair living.

We have long waivered and compromised on the issue of migratory labor in agriculture. We have failed to adopt policies designed to insure an adequate supply of such labor at decent standards of employment. Actually, we have done worse than that. We have used the institutions of government to procure alien labor willing to work under obsolete and backward conditions and thus to perpetuate those very conditions. This not only entrenches a bad system, it expands it. We have not only undermined the standards of employment for migratory farm workers, we have impaired the economic and social position of the family farm operator.

The operator of a family-type farm is a capitalist but one whose income is derived primarily from his own labor. In this sense, he is also a laborer. He aspires to an income adequate to maintain an American standard of living. He is, therefore, in a poor position to compete with the foreign worker who is willing to accept lower wages, who leaves his family at home, and who makes no demand on his employer or the communities after the crop season's work is done.

An example of how imported foreign labor displaces working farmers is found in the Midwest and the Great Lakes States which have long been the cradle of independent family farming. In past years canners and processors of vegetables have acquired their raw products principally by purchasing them from family farmers. In recent years some of these canners and processors have begun to rent land and to grow their own crops. Just as the steel industry established "captive mines" from which to get their coal, so now do canners turn to "captive farms" for their vegetables. To get the labor needed to operate their large plantings of vegetables, these canners turn to Government, and Government assists them in getting a supply of foreign workers.

Cheap foreign labor is advantageous to the owners of the large-scale farms which employ "stoop" labor in great quantities. Such farms are only 2 percent of the Nation's farm units, approximately 125,000, and only a fraction of this small number employs most of the alien farm workers. This cheap labor is in competition with the great group of family-type farms. It is hardly consistent for our Government to encourage a family type of agriculture and at the same time give direct assistance to the operators of large-scale farms in recruiting and employing low-wage foreign workers whose products compete with those of the family-type farms.

There is nothing wrong or immoral in employing foreign workers in American agriculture when there are mutual advantages in doing so. Employment of foreign workers is really not the issue. The point is that our Government has an obligation to make certain that these foreign workers do not reduce still lower the wages of domestic farm workers and the incomes of family-farm operators.

The issue then is job standards. We must raise the standards and conditions of work in migratory farm employment and thereby eliminate the dependence by farm employers on poverty at home and misfortune abroad as the foundation of the recruitment of their labor supply.

Fundamentally, this means that public policy must encourage farm employers to build reliable jobs for reliable people, not to maintain obsolete and intolerable standards. The management of our farms must learn to do what management in industry and commerce have done to conserve human resources and increase the efficiency of its workers. We must build toward an agriculture that will yield a decent American income for those who provide labor.

Achieving this will take time. It will take continuous cooperative efforts of farm employers, farm workers, private organizations, and institutions of government at all levels, united in support of a public policy consistent with our national aims and ideals.

The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor

To promote this cooperation we propose the establishment of a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor to coordinate the activities of the different levels of government and private groups concerned with problems of migratory farm labor in the United States. Discussion of the need for such a committee, its composition, and role will be found in chapter XII, A Coordinated Policy and Program for Migratory Farm Labor. This chapter also includes a recapitulation of all of our recommendations. Recommendations on specific subjects will be found at the end of each of the following chapters.

Chapter 2

Migratory Farm Labor in Emergency

Among the questions we were directed to investigate was:

> * * * whether sufficient numbers of local and migratory workers can be obtained from domestic sources to meet agricultural labor needs and, if not, the extent to which the temporary employment of foreign workers may be required to supplement the domestic labor supply.

We have examined this question in the context of the present defense emergency. Whether and to what extent we will need foreign labor depends on two important factors: (*a*) What level of farm production may be anticipated in the present emergency and how much labor will be needed to produce it; (*b*) how large our domestic labor force will be and how effectively we use it.

Farm Production and Labor Requirements for the Emergency

At our request, the United States Department of Agriculture has estimated prospective farm output for 1951 and 1952. In preparing its estimates, the Department took account of emergency food and fiber needs and the ability of the agricultural plant, within its biological and resource limits, to respond to those needs. The Department's recommended cotton-production goal of 16 million bales has already received much attention. Cotton, however, is but one of the farm commodities of which increased supplies are needed; other urgent additional needs include wool, feed grains, and livestock. Farm-production goals must be considered in total. To appraise the emergency on the basis of any one crop or commodity is to distort perspective. If we are to produce a great deal more of one commodity, it may be necessary to curtail production of other commodities, but the Department advises us there are no important farm products in which reductions are in order. Consequently, the urgently needed increases must come as net additions to the total output, which automatically puts limitations on the amount of increase we can expect in any particular farm product.

The prospect of a 1951 cotton crop of 16 million bales has been cited in support of demands for additional alien farm labor. While this does represent a sharp increase from the 9.9 million bale crop of 1950, it is well to recall that we produced a 16.1 million bale crop as recently as 1949 and a 14.9 million bale crop in 1948. The 1950 cotton crop was abnormally small mainly because of Federal production controls. A 16 million bale cotton crop is more "normal" than was the 9.9 million bale crop of 1950.

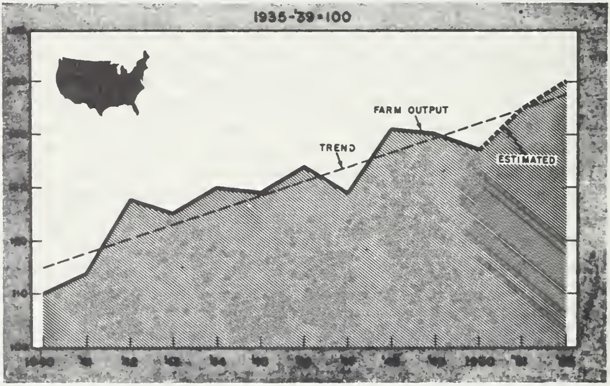
Estimates of farm output in 1951 and 1952 were made by the Department of Agriculture as projections of its "index of farm production," which is the statistical way of measuring the Nation's total farm production. These production estimates are possible maximum outputs on the assumption of favorable weather and growing conditions. The estimates for 1951 and 1952 are shown in relation to output during the past decade in chart IV. From the perspective of our progressively mounting production record of the past 10 years, the recommended emergency farm output of the next 2 years appears to involve no break with the past. On the contrary, it is normal expansion along well-established lines.

In emergency, there is not occasion for as much change in agriculture as in many other industries. Food needs are not deferrable like automobiles and refrigerators. In emergency, our food and fiber needs are much the same as in "normal" times except that we need more. Consequently, emergency for agriculture means the maintenance of "normal" production with as much acceleration as possible of the most urgently needed products.

FARM OUTPUT 1940-1950

with Estimates for 1951 and 1952

Chart IV



What the situation may be after 1952, we do not attempt to guess. However, it is to be noted in chart IV that farm production during World War II, though somewhat above the trend for the entire decade, was nevertheless no great departure from that trend. This suggests that even if the emergency is more intense by 1953 and thereafter, we need anticipate no marked change in the trend of agricultural production.

How much labor will be needed to produce the expected farm output of 1951 and 1952? The number of man-hours required for the expected production will depend largely on whether we continue to increase the productivity of farm labor. In chapter I, we noted that output per man-hour rose just as rapidly during World War II as in the years preceding and following. Increasing attention is being given to mechanization of hand tasks. In view of the results so far achieved, it is realistic to believe that progress in this area alone will be sufficient to sustain the established trend of increasing labor productivity. There are two contingencies which could upset this trend: (*a*) that the emergency situation becomes so intense that materials for new machines will be less available than during World War II; (*b*) that hand or "stoop" labor supply will be kept so large and wage rates consequently so low that it will not pay farmers to mechanize. (The latter, incidentally, has been one of the obstructions to mechanizing the cotton harvest.)

The next question to which we must turn is: how many workers will be needed to provide the required man-hours of labor? The answer here depends on how effectively we use our labor supply. The evidence in chapter I makes plain that human resources, particularly those of hired labor, have not been used to the best advantage. During World War II, we used our farm labor supply more effectively than before or since.

Our Farm Manpower Experience in World War II

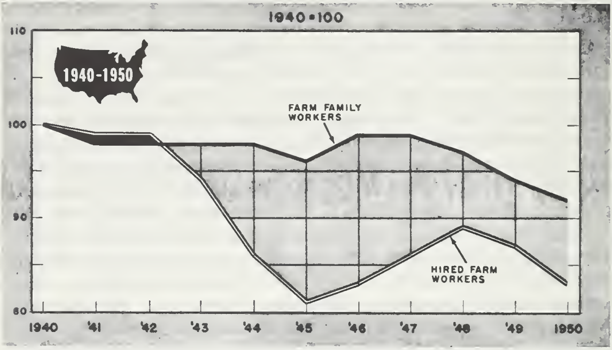
Changes in the size of our agricultural labor force in the past decade are graphed in chart V. The number of farm family workers remained almost constant during the World War II emergency. At the peak of the war effort in 1945, farm family workers were only 4 percent less than in 1940. In contrast, the number of hired workers declined sharply. Hired farm workers in 1945 were approximately a half a million—almost 20 percent—below 1940. Yet, at this stage of the war emergency, we were producing more crops and livestock than ever before.

Our attack on wartime agricultural manpower shortages was multifold. Importation of foreign workers was only one of many approaches. We also instituted programs to mobilize volunteer workers and to bring high school students, housewives, and townspeople temporarily into farm employment. These recruits replaced some of the workers who had

CHANGES OF EMPLOYMENT OF FARM WORKERS

• Family Workers • Hired Workers

Chart V

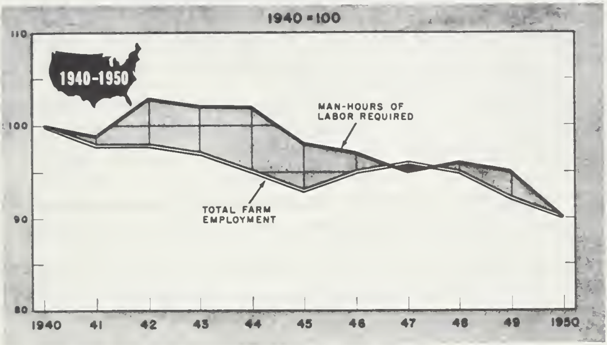


gone into the Armed Services and into war industries. We helped farm people in the areas of low productivity to move so they could be more effectively employed. Information services about farm labor needs were greatly strengthened, and farm employers were encouraged to estimate more accurately the timing and amounts of their labor needs. In order more effectively to utilize the limited labor available, farm employers were encouraged to enter into group pooling arrangements whereby their joint labor needs could be met with a smaller number of workers. Methods of simplifying work and working procedure were also given much attention.

The contribution to the Nation's farm work made by foreign labor was comparatively small, although considerable sums of Federal money were spent to import these workers. In 1945, we were employing 92,700 foreign workers. At the peak, foreign workers were 2.7 percent of our hired farm labor employment. Of total farm employment, including hired, as well as farm family workers, foreign labor at the peak was only 7/10 of 1 percent. Since many of the foreign workers were here only for a portion of the year, their work contribution was below the average for all workers—family and hired. Therefore, the proportion of the nation's farm work performed by foreign workers was probably less than 1/2 of 1 percent. Moreover, the foreign workers were not generally used throughout the Nation but rather were concentrated in a few areas. The largest group of foreign nationals was made up of Mexicans who were employed principally in California and in the Northwest. California alone got 63 percent of the Mexicans

CHANGES IN FARM LABOR REQUIREMENTS AND FARM EMPLOYMENT

Chart VI



in 1945. California together with Washington, Oregon, and Idaho had 78 percent of all Mexican nationals for that year.

In 1944 and 1945, we used prisoners of war in slightly larger numbers than foreign workers. The contribution to the Nation's agricultural work by prisoners of war was approximately equal to that of foreign workers for the years 1944 and 1945. Prisoners of war were geographically more widely scattered than foreign workers.

As before, working farmers and members of their families were the backbone of the Nation's agricultural work force all through the war.

As chart VI shows, the amount of labor required (in man-hours) has, with the exception of the years 1942–44, gradually declined throughout the decade. Total farm employment, principally because of the losses of hired labor, declined more rapidly and consistently from 1940 through 1945. These comparative changes in labor required and in total employment after 1940 demonstrate that a successively smaller labor supply did a larger amount of work. How did we get a larger number of man-hours from a smaller work force?

One might well expect that longer hours per day was the method of maintaining the work output from a shrinking labor force. However, hours per day for both family and hired workers increased very little and then only in the very early years of the war period. Primarily, *we got more efficient use of our labor supply by getting more days of employment per year.*

In replacing regularly hired workers who had left farm employment with volunteers and part-time workers, it might be thought that the overall average days of work per person would decline. Notwithstanding this substitution in the labor force, however, the average rose significantly. The short periods of work by volunteers were more than offset by increases in the number of days of employment of regular workers who remained in the hired labor force. On the average, farm family and hired workers together worked 10 days more a year at the height of the war emergency than they had in 1940.

These increases in employment per worker are not difficult to explain. During the thirties and into 1940 and 1941, we were using much of our farm labor ineffectively. We were spreading the available farm work over a larger number of workers than actually was needed. As the labor supply diminished, better labor management practices were necessary. These were utilized, as described above, as part of the over-all emergency program for farm labor. And they produced results.

Our programs and activities for conserving and efficiently utilizing labor resources on the home front produced far bigger results than did foreign labor importation or the use of prisoners of war. Because of the loss of over half a million hired farm workers, a shortage would have occurred if nothing had been done.

For the nation at large, farmers and members of their families, by working more days per year, contributed more to avoiding a possible farm labor shortage during the war than did all other phases of the emergency program combined. Hired farm workers also, by working more days per year, contributed more than was gained by the total contribution of both foreign workers and prisoners of war. The foreign labor program on which the bulk of the emergency appropriations was spent, contributed the least to the nation at large, but it obviously contributed much to the small number of farm employers in those few States which got the majority of the imported foreign workers. The domestic hired labor force, by working more days per year, contributed about three times as much to avoiding a possible labor shortage as did all the foreign workers.

Postwar Changes in Utilization of Farm Labor

Since 1945, our farm labor force has been employed less and less effectively. From 1945 through 1948, we employed a continuously larger hired labor force even though our work requirement (total man-hours) was gradually declining. In other words, we have been using more workers to achieve the same or slightly less work, and have thereby been reducing the work contribution per worker. This fact is strikingly reflected in the amount of employment received per hired farm worker:

Year	*Days of farm work per farm worker*
1946	113
1947	106
1948	104
1949	90

By using our work force less and less effectively each year since 1945, we have now arrived at a level of labor utilization approximately as low as that which prevailed in 1940.

These facts indicate that there is ample room in which to apply and push forward those programs which will contribute to the greater effectiveness of our domestic farm labor force. There is opportunity and challenge to get more farm work done by making the domestic labor supply go further in work accomplishment. In the migratory labor group particularly, we are wasting many more days than we are using.

Experience as a Guide for the Present Emergency

In the past decade we not only learned how to produce more food and fiber with less labor, we bridged a world war emergency in doing so. We know from experience that it is possible to use our domestic labor force with greater efficiency than we did before the war or than we have done since. We are profligate in our use of the human resource in agriculture. The migratory worker gets so little work that for him, employment is only incidental to unemployment. We ought not to be misled into a policy of importing foreign workers on a large scale. Instead, we need to correct our present inefficiencies in the utilization of domestic workers.

Estimated farm output for 1951 is 3.6 percent above 1949. (We use 1949 for comparison instead of 1950 because 1949 was a more normal year—several crops were reduced by Federal production controls in 1950.) If this additional output were to require an equal percentage increase in man-hours, then we would need approximately 700 million additional man-hours to produce the 1951 output. These additional man-hours could be supplied by the present domestic labor force, including farm family labor, if each worker put in 6½ more days per year. And even at that they would be working 3 days less per year than in 1945. The average hired farm worker who in 1949 was getting only 90 days of farm work—23 less than in wartime—would be willing, if given the opportunity, to contribute this amount and more.

Actually, the above calculation overstates the additional labor needed because it makes no allowance for continued improvement in productivity through mechanization. The changes in the past 2 years will have considerable effect on the need for hand labor in 1951. Unless the emergency becomes extreme, mechanization will proceed and will undoubtedly further reduce the need for hand labor.

Another aspect of prospective farm labor needs deserves attention. Aside from restoring our cotton production for 1951 to the 1949 level, emphasis will be placed on expanding wool, feed grains, and livestock. None of these depends on migratory labor to any significant extent. In none of them, with the possible exception of wool, has the employment of foreign nationals ever been of any consequence. Most foreign nationals who could be brought here for temporary employment are inexperienced in handling machinery or taking care of livestock. Hence, to suppose that foreign labor importation would solve any labor problems for these types of farming seems unwarranted.

Still another aspect of prospective farm labor need should be anticipated. Since we have mechanized our farming operations, more workers are needed who are experienced in the use of machinery. Workers with such mechanical experience will be among the first to leave the farms for industrial employment, if defense plant activities expand. We cannot import workers of this type for temporary employment. They will have to be developed from within our domestic labor supply.

It is more difficult to estimate prospective labor supply than to estimate farm labor needs. The difficulty arises from the fact that basically agriculture must rely not upon its own hired labor supply, but upon whatever is left over from other employments. Moreover, this is true largely because agriculture does not compete on equal terms with other major industries for its labor supply. Agricultural employment is largely accepted only by those who cannot find nonfarm jobs or farms of their own. Consequently, when nonfarm employment is stagnant, as in the thirties, agriculture has too many workers; when industrial jobs are easy to get, workers tend to leave farm employment and there is a farm labor shortage. To know the prospective farm labor supply, it is first necessary to know the expected level of nonfarm employment.

At the present state of the emergency, the answers to these basic questions are not available. So the best that can be done is again to project the experience of the last war emergency. During World War II, as chart V shows, our losses from the force of working farmers and their family members were slight. Our losses from the hired farm labor force, on the other hand, were great. Even so, the average net loss of hired farm workers per year from 1940 to 1945 was approximately 100 thousand. At the level of ineffectiveness at which we are now using our hired farm labor, it would take only a few days more work per year by those remaining in the farm labor force to offset emergency period losses of 100 to 200 thousand workers per year. It is doubtful, under present circumstances, if a faster rate of loss of farm labor should be anticipated.

We Know How To Use Labor More Effectively

In a sense, farm labor is always an emergency. The fact that we have imported and contracted more foreign workers in the past 4 years than we did in World War II is ample evidence in itself that "emergency" is not a matter of wartime. Even when our national farm labor supply is more than abundant, there are local complaints of labor shortage. Our use of human labor in agriculture is inefficient whether under "normal" or emergency conditions.

Our failure to build orderliness in farm employment, and particularly in employment of migratory labor, is more a lack of will to do so than a lack of knowing how to do it. Under pressure of emergency, the Department of Agriculture and the Agricultural Extension Services, which were responsible for most of the domestic farm labor program in World War II, developed management practices in the use of labor. Yet when the pressure was off, these activities and programs were nearly all discontinued.

On the whole, farm employers, particularly those employing hand workers in large numbers, have given little thought to developing modern practices for managing labor with the objective of conserving it and making its use more efficient. In our hearings, we asked many questions on this topic. In some instances, the employer witnesses seemed not to understand our questions. In other instances, the questions were understood but the responses were negative. Nevertheless, a growing number of farm employers know they have a task before them. In fact, many farm employer leaders appear to be more alert in this respect than is the leadership in some Federal and State agencies which presently have responsibilities for administering farm labor programs.

Most farm employers are well organized and have many avenues through which to express their desires. One of the best of these channels of expression is an organization called the Special Farm Labor Committee. Its members are farm employers or representatives of farm employers' organizations from every State. Its primary purpose is to advise the Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service on farm manpower programs. Though this Committee naturally speaks only for the interests of farm employers, it has clearly acknowledged that there are many basic management jobs to be done.

Proposals along these lines were made by the Special Farm Labor Committee which met in Washington, D. C., January 1950, 6 months before the Korean crisis. Although at this meeting, the Committee requested that the foreign labor program be continued in 1950, it also made other recommendations. For example, its subcommittee on factors in recruitment reported that program planning required "better evaluation of figures on crop acreages and labor requirements based on normal crop seasons," also that the Employment Service should make "greater use of temporary or seasonal offices or greater use of volunteer farm placement representatives, whichever was most practical based on individual State and local conditions." The report of this subcommittee concluded with this statement:

> As a general conclusion, it was felt that careful selection, adequate wages, reasonable housing, and other factors are desirable and neces-

> sary, but are not sufficient of themselves in creating the successful placement of a satisfied worker, that it is of equal importance to see that the worker or the worker and his family are brought into the full life of the community.

At the same meeting of this Special Farm Labor Committee, the subcommittee on factors in employment reported:

> This group feels that a large preponderance of the difficulties arising from relationship with migrant workers is due to lack of training, lack of supervision, and lack of work planning.

And further:

> The committee recommends to the Employment Service that, at the national level, they determine what has been done by the State Extension Services in the way of either employer or employer education, and then proceeds to work out, in conjunction with their State Advisory Councils, at State level, programs to furnish, augment, or complete such programs.

These were some of the suggestions made by the Special Farm Labor Committee in January 1950. When the Committee met again in September 1950, emphasis was still placed on the desire for foreign labor, yet the Committee found many improvements to be made in the management of the domestic labor supply. Among points covered by recommendations at this meeting were:

> (*a*) Farm Placement should seek the advice of appropriate agricultural agencies or departments and of agricultural organizations in appraising prospective agricultural labor requirements as a means of obtaining realistic estimates of needs;
>
> (*b*) Agricultural labor users and organizations should be encouraged to organize agricultural labor users associations where they do not now exist; these associations to act as liaison between Farm Placement and individual users, to provide or arrange for needed housing or other facilities, and to aid in the placement of agricultural labor in the area;
>
> (*c*) We recommend to all agricultural labor users and user groups that they provide and maintain good housing facilities. This will result in better working relationships between workers and employer. Every effort should be made to see that adequate educational, recreational, and health facilities are available to the worker.

The committee further recommended educational and training programs:

> Each year new employers hire farm workers and each year many new workers enter the farm labor force. Effective labor management, supervision, and training are of increasing importance to assure efficient utilization of an increasingly limited labor force. It is therefore strongly recommended that steps be taken now to develop and put into force needed educational programs in each local area hiring considerable numbers of workers. In planning such a program, consideration should be given to facilities available through private agencies and institutions. For example, implement dealers should be encouraged to

> conduct training schools for the training of workers in the operation of mechanical equipment, similar to those which have been conducted for years in the care and maintenance of equipment. Local organizations and cooperatives should be encouraged to assist in the planning and conducting of educational and training programs; employers should be impressed with the need for such programs and encouraged to assist in every possible way. Steps should be taken to include in the courses of instruction now being conducted for farm people more * * * material * * * relating to labor information, supervision, and training. Land-grant colleges should be encouraged to give more emphasis to problems incident to the hired labor force in the courses of resident instruction.
>
> During World War II much valuable training material was developed and widely distributed to employers and workers. It is recommended that a review be made of these materials, and that supplies of those still adaptable be again made available for distribution.
>
> The USES should obtain the cooperation of the Extension Services and other agencies of the Department of Agriculture in carrying out these recommendations.

These recommendations, it must be remembered, originated exclusively with farm employers. They are constructive ideas and their adoption would contribute much to meeting the current emergency. Yet there is little evidence that either farmers or governmental agencies are actively applying these recommendations. When the Employment Service called the Special Farm Labor Committee to Washington for another meeting on January 18 and 19, 1951, the Secretary of Labor predicted a farm labor shortage of 400 thousand. Thereupon, the discussions and recommendations of the Special Farm Labor Committee centered on how to get enough foreign labor to meet the shortage.

Our investigations of the present farm labor problem and our analysis of this country's experience during the years of World War II and since, point to certain conclusions which to us seem inescapable in the present emergency.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) First reliance be placed on using our domestic labor force more effectively.

(2) No special measures be adopted to increase the number of alien contract laborers beyond the number admitted in 1950.

(3) To meet any supplemental needs for agricultural labor that may develop, preference be given to citizens of the offshore possessions of the United States, such as Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

(4) Future efforts be directed toward supplying agricultural labor needs with our own workers and eliminating dependence on foreign labor.

Chapter 3

Alien Contract Labor in American Agriculture

The Executive Order directs that we inquire into several aspects of the employment of foreign labor in the United States. There are both legal and illegal aliens in our farm labor force, the latter being several times the larger. Illegal aliens—their extent and the consequences of their employment—will be discussed in the next chapter. Here, we shall be primarily concerned with legal aliens imported and employed under contract.

World War II Emergency Importation of Foreign Workers

Mexicans have been the principal foreign group in our farm labor supply for several decades. The 1917 immigration law established administrative controls excluding many aliens on the basis of personal qualifications. Previously, there was comparatively free movement across the Mexican-United States border. But the movement was never very great. The immigration law of 1917 had hardly become effective when we waived it as an emergency measure during World War I to admit Mexican workers for temporary employment in agriculture, railroads, and mines. Between 1917 and 1921, 73,000 came in under this emergency waiver.

Mexican immigration during the twenties was governed by the 1917 law and subsequent immigration legislation. However, inasmuch as the legislation was administered leniently, there was considerable in-movement, both legal and illegal. Though the illegal traffic was fairly large, it was but a fraction of the illegal traffic of today. The favorable employment opportunities in the Southwest and in California, which were the foundation of the movement of the twenties, were quickly reversed in 1929. Whereas in the twenties we absorbed a Mexican population of about a milion, in the thirties we disgorged almost half a million people of Mexican origin. Great numbers of these, becoming disemployed in the United States, were repatriated in destitution.

During the forties, the northward flow started again. Months before Pearl Harbor, farm employers in the Southwest and in California initiated demands that administration of the immigration law be adjusted to allow entry of Mexican workers. As other fields of employment attracted workers from the domestic farm labor supply and the prospects of local farm labor shortages appeared in the spring of 1942, farm employers' demands for foreign labor became more urgent. Our Government responded and again, as in World War I, we turned to Mexico. The first intergovernmental agreement providing for World War II emergency importation of Mexican nationals was signed in August 1942. This agreement and its later amendments were supplemented by Public Law 45 of April 29, 1943. This legislation, subsequently amended several times, was concerned with domestic as well as foreign aspects of farm labor in the war emergency. Among other things, the Congress determined general policies of importation and authorized the expenditure of public funds for recruitment, transportation, placement, and supervision of foreign workers.

The wartime emergency farm labor program extended through 1947. Throughout this period foreign workers were recruited, transported, and were placed by agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture and the affiliated State Agricultural Extension Services. In the years 1942 through 1947, the Government, at public expense, brought some 219,500 Mexican agricultural workers to the United States.

In addition to Mexicans, we imported farm workers from other sources. Intergovernmental agreements similar to the one with Mexico were negotiated with a number of other neighbor governments. From 1943 through 1947, we imported 50,598 Jamaicans, 18,423 Canadians, 15,241 Bahamians and small numbers from Newfoundland, British Honduras, and Barbados. At the peak period of employment in each of the years of the wartime program, foreign nationals from the various principal sources employed in farm work under contract in the United States were as follows:

Year	Mexican nationals	Bahamians and Jamaicans	Others	Total
1943	32, 278	13, 114	....	45, 392
1944	63, 432	24, 312	3, 823	91, 567
1945	61, 687	25, 991	5, 063	92, 741
1946	41, 044	19, 668	8, 698	69, 410
1947	31, 331	9, 553	7, 421	48, 305

Although the emergency farm-labor legislation extended through December 31, 1947, the Department of Agriculture discontinued importation early that year. Only 19,000 Mexicans were imported in 1947, but since some of those imported in previous years had stayed over, 31,000 were legally here and employed during the year. However, a new type of activity appeared in 1947, namely, the process of "legalizing of illegals," and this was to be the dominant feature of the Mexican alien farm-labor program not only for 1947 but also in the years since.

In the war-emergency program, the Mexican Government had refused to supply its nationals to any State in which there was discrimination. Texas had been excluded from the Government program on this ground. In lieu of legal aliens under contract, a large number of Mexican illegal aliens had accumulated in Texas. When the Department of Agriculture indicated its intention to terminate the importation program in the spring of 1947, the Governments of the United States and Mexico agreed to legalize the status of some of the illegal aliens. Under this agreement, approximately 55,000 illegal Mexican aliens in Texas were thus legalized in the summer of 1947. This was separate from the program of the Department of Agriculture. The further growth and ramifications of this process of legalizing illegal aliens by putting them under contract will be discussed later.

Puerto Rico Not Used in World War II Emergency

One of the outstanding features of the wartime labor program was the neglect of Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans were available in large numbers and received some consideration in the early emergency manpower proposals. Puerto Ricans were, however, not utilized and it may be that the reason for this neglect, notwithstanding that Puerto Rico suffered large-scale unemployment, was the reluctance of farm employers to accept Puerto Ricans. One basis of a preference for other than Puerto Ricans was expressed by the president of a Florida growers association to the Secretary of Agriculture as follows:

> The vast difference between the Bahama Island labor and the domestic, including Puerto Rican, is that labor transported from the Bahama Islands can be diverted and sent home if it does not work, which cannot be done in the instance of labor from domestic United States or Puerto Rico.

In postwar years, Puerto Ricans have entered the farm labor force of the mainland. The characteristics and circumstances of their employment will be discussed later.

Areas of Employment of Imported Foreign Workers During World War II

The wartime Mexican labor program of 1943–47 placed farm workers in 24 States. At the peak of the Mexican program in 1945, California had 63 percent of the total Mexican workers employed during the year. But this inadequately states the proportion concentrated in California because, from January through April, California had as much as 90 percent of the total. Even in these slack months, California had more than 20,000 Mexican contract workers.

The other principal recipients of the wartime Mexican farm labor program were Washington (6 percent), Idaho (5 percent), Oregon (4 percent). These three States plus California accounted for 78 percent of the Mexican nationals employed in 1945. Of the 16 other States participating in the Mexican program at its peak, the following States had from 1,000 to 3,500 workers: Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Utah, and Wisconsin.

The work performed by the Mexican contract workers, though principally hand labor, covered a fairly wide range of farm products. Their employment was primarily in fruits, vegetables, sugar beets, and cotton. They were scarcely used in livestock, dairy, poultry, or diversified general farming.

Though we imported over 50,000 Jamaicans through the years 1943–47, the maximum employment at any one time was 21,000. At the peak of their employment, the Jamaicans were scattered widely over 21 States—New York had 3,000; California 2,700; and other States had smaller numbers. The peak employment of Bahamians was 5,700. The largest concentration of Bahamians was in Florida, and after finishing seasonal work there, they were moved along the Atlantic Coast and ultimately were scattered over 25 States, including the South, the North Central States, and as far west as Wyoming. The employment of both of these British West Indian groups was principally at hand work in fruits, vegetables, and sugar cane.

Contract Aliens as Proportions of the Wartime Farm Labor Force

In terms of the national farm labor force, the contract alien program was of little significance. Contract aliens in the peak year of the wartime program amounted to 2.7 percent of the Nation's hired farm labor force. Of the total farm work force, including farm family workers as well as hired workers, foreign contract workers at the maximum were $\frac{7}{10}$ of 1 percent. Foreign contract labor each year, in proportion to the total labor force, was as follows:

Year	Contract foreign labor	All hired labor	Total farm workers family and hired	Percentage, contract foreign workers of	
				Hired workers	Total farm workers
1943	45, 392	4, 383, 000	15, 428, 000	1. 0	0. 3
1944	91, 567	4, 148, 000	15, 339, 000	2. 2	. 6
1945	92, 741	3, 487, 000	14, 208, 000	2. 7	. 7
1946	69, 410	3, 654, 000	14, 638, 000	1. 9	. 5
1947	[a] 48, 305	4, 017, 000	15, 116, 000	1. 2	. 3

[a] Does not include wetbacks who were given contracts.

Foreign Agricultural Labor Importation and Contracting Continued Through Postwar Years

The World War II emergency foreign labor program for agriculture was handled entirely under Government administrative machinery and with appropriations for that purpose. In effect, the Government was the labor contractor. The basic statutory authority for this program was the ninth proviso to section 3 (the clause excluding aliens generally) of the 1917 immigration law which is as follows:

> That the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization with the approval of the Attorney General shall issue rules and prescribe conditions, including exaction of such bonds as may be necessary, to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens applying for temporary admission.

Also, under the authority of the ninth proviso, the Railroad Retiretirement Board and the War Manpower Commission facilitated the importation of Mexican nationals for nonagricultural employment, principally on railroad maintenance-of-way. The importation of Mexican nationals for railroad employment was terminated at the end of 1945. Importation of alien farm labor, unlike the alien labor program for the railroads and most other wartime emergency measures, was not terminated at the end of the war.

Use of contract alien farm labor has not only continued but has expanded to a maximum, in 1949, much bigger than the maximum of the wartime emergency. The supplementary legislation contained in Public Law 45 and its subsequent amendments expired at the end of 1947. The importation and contracting of alien farm workers from 1948 and thereafter has rested on the statutory authorization in the ninth proviso to section 3 of the 1917 Immigration Law.

Supplementary to the above statutory authorization, the postwar importation and contracting program for Mexicans has been handled under a series of revised international executive agreements dated March 10 and April 2, 1947, February 21, 1948, and August 1, 1949. The Mexican farm labor program of 1950 was under the terms of the August 1949 Agreement. The intergovernmental agreements with the islands of the British West Indies lapsed at the termination of the emergency program. The importation of Jamaican and Bahamian labor since 1947 has occurred entirely on the basis of work contracts negotiated between private employer interests of the United States and the island governments or their agents. Bahamian and Jamaican labor imported into the United States since 1947 has not been protected by government-to-government agreement.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, the United States Employment Service and its Farm Placement Service, and the Department of State have all rendered assistance to private employers contracting otherwise inadmissible aliens for temporary farm employment.

Mechanics of Postwar Foreign Labor Importation and Contracting

The International Agreement with Mexico establishes standards and conditions under which Mexican nationals may be employed temporarily in the United States. Also, there is an intergovernmentally negotiated Individual Work Contract which further determines employment relations and working conditions on the job. In addition, there are the following documents relating to the Mexican program:

(*a*) An information bulletin issued jointly by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and the Director of the United States Employment Service.

(*b*) A joint interpretation of the International Executive Agreement by the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

(*c*) A joint interpretation of the Individual Work Contract conditions of employment by the Governments of Mexico and the United States.

The employer and the Mexican contract worker both sign the Individual Work Contract. The employer, in addition, signs an Application for Permission to Retain and/or Import Mexican Agricultural Labor.

For Bahamian and Jamaican workers, there is no counterpart of the International Agreement or any of its supplements. The "Work Agreement" for Bahamian agricultural workers and the "Agreement for Employment of Jamaicans in Agricultural Work" are both negotiated directly between private farm employers in the United States and the Bahamian or Jamaican Governments or their agents. The employer, the worker, and the agent are the parties to these agreements.

The bringing of foreign labor into the United States, whether under the terms of governmental agreement or privately negotiated agreement, is contingent on official certification of need for foreign labor. The conditions governing certification of need for foreign labor are set forth in the Information Bulletin on the Mexican labor program issued jointly by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and the Director of the United States Employment Service. The Information Bulletin states that Mexican nationals will be admitted for temporary employment as agricultural workers when:

(*a*) the need for their services is conclusively established following investigation and certification by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the United States Employment Service, respectively, and

(*b*) the admission of such Mexican nationals will not result in displacement of American farm workers or otherwise detrimentally affect such labor in this country.

With reference to the Mexican labor program, the determination of whether a labor shortage exists commences with the farm employer's application to the local employment service office, his request being made, incidentally, in terms of *Mexicans* as such. If the local employment service finds that domestic workers are not available, the employer's application for Mexicans is sent forward to the State Employment Service and if the State office cannot supply domestic workers, the application is referred to the regional office of the United States Employment Service. Concurrent with the application being sent from the State office to the regional office, the employer is advised to file the "Application for Permission to Retain and/or Import Mexican Agricultural Labor" with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If, subsequently, the request for Mexican workers is approved by the regional and national offices of the United States Employment Service, all that remains to be done is to get the approval of the Immigration and Naturalization Service and of the Government of Mexico.

When these necessary approvals have been obtained and when the appropriate arrangements for recruitment have been made with Mexico, the selection of the workers begins at a recruitment point designated by Mexico as a recruiting center. At the recruiting and contracting center, the parties present are: the employer or his representative who selects the workers; officials, and medical examiners of the Mexican Government who oversee the recruitment and give the worker his physical examination; representatives of the United States Public Health Service who assist in the physical and health examinations; representatives of the United States Employment Service who assist in recruitment and selection of workers and in signing the Individual Work Agreements; representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who process the papers required to fulfill immigration laws and regulations.

Workers recruited in interior Mexico then proceed northward to the border in transportation facilities supplied by the employer and approved by the Mexican Government. At the border, the workers' persons and credentials are again briefly examined by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the United States Public Health Service. The contract is reviewed and noted by the representatives of the Mexican consulate who also inspect the transportation in which the employer proposes to convey the contract workers to their place of employment. This inspection of transportation equipment covers safety and comfort features. Thereafter, on approval of transportation, the contract workers are conveyed to the place of employment at employer expense.

Responsibility and supervision over the contract and behavior of the contracting parties is assigned by the International Agreement as follows:

> The United States Employment Service, in cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, will make periodic inspections to ascertain that the terms of the Agreement and the Individual Work Contract are being complied with.

In practice, we find that jurisdiction over the performance of the contract for the United States Government is assumed to be the responsibility of the United States Employment Service while jurisdiction over the body of the alien is assumed to be the role of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Mexican consulate for its Government shares in both. To discharge its obligation to make periodic inspections to ascertain that the terms of the International Agreement and the Individual Work Contract are being complied with, the United States Employment Service has maintained a maximum of nine inspectors or "Compliance Officers" in the United States who are assigned as needed to the various regional offices of the United States Employment Service. State employment services, beyond their role in certifying labor shortage, have no responsibility for the work contracts. Nevertheless, the State offices are expected to pass along complaints or observed violations. The Immigration and Naturalization Service, though charged with cooperative responsibility to enforce the contract, concerns itself with the contract worker principally when it is time for him to return home or when he has been reported as having deserted his contract.

A provision for conciliation of employer-worker disputes is contained in the International Agreement. The Individual Work Contract contains no such provision but does contain a reference to the conciliation procedure in the International Agreement. Mexican contract workers and employers are given copies of the Individual Work Contract, which is in both Spanish and English. Workers and employers are not always given copies of the International Agreement, which is only in English.

Complaints alleging violation of the Individual Work Contract may be initiated in three ways: Officially by the United States Employment Service or privately by either worker or employer. If an officially initiated complaint is not adjusted, the Mexican consulate is called in for a joint investigation. Complaints from workers may be received by the United States Employment Service or submitted through the appropriate Mexican consulate. Complaints by employers are received by the United States Employment Service. On all types of complaints the Mexican consulate may be called in for joint investigation and determination.

As a matter of practice, we find that while employers may refer some complaints to the United States Employment Service, workers' complaints are ordinarily referred initially to the Mexican consulate. Let it be borne in mind that this conciliation procedure is contained in the International Agreement (in English, which the typical Mexican worker cannot read) but is incorporated only by reference in the Individual Work Contract (where the Spanish-reading Mexican worker finds out in Spanish that there is a conciliation procedure available to him if he could read English).

Again in the International Agreement, but not in the Individual Work Contract, there is the following provision:

> Workers admitted under this Agreement shall have the right to elect their own representatives from among members of their groups, to maintain contact between the Workers and the Employers.

The Joint Intergovernmental Interpretation of this provision says that the designation of such representatives is "for the purpose of discussing with the employer any question arising under the Individual Work Contract, but not for the purpose of changing its terms or conditions. * * * this article does not, however, have any reference to union memberships or collective bargaining activities."

For the farm employer or association of farm employers, the conciliation provision may be somewhat more adequate than it is for the foreign workers with a language handicap in a strange land. To expect the Mexican contract worker to locate one of the nine United States Employment Service inspectors or to relay his complaint to them through the State employment service is to expect more than is within his capability. Consequently, if he can get in touch with the Mexican consulate, that is about the best he can do. This cumbersome and complicated procedure, involving several government agencies in general and none in particular, encourages desertion in place of making a complaint because every complaint has the potentiality of being lost or ignored.

Farm employers, as well as workers, have apparently found difficulties in living with the work agreement. An employer of contract workers from New Mexico told us of employers' difficulties in the following words:

> When * * * the Commissioner of Immigration, proposed a contract, I was very delighted and very pleased, because I thought it would be a solution, and then, when the contract was presented to us, it was absolutely one-sided, only protection for the worker and no protection whatever for the employer, and I was very much disappointed. However, we have contracted quite a few men under this, and I know that we can't live up to the contract 100 percent. It is just a piece of paper. If we get along with the men and are able to satisfy them and they don't go to the Mexican consul and kick, we get by. If they go to the Mexican consul and kick, we can get into a lot of trouble, and I think after my several years' experience with it, that the farmer is in very desperate need whenever he will sign a contract with a foreign nation, where he hasn't got a chance as an individual to put his side of the case, or anything else. It is very arbitrary on the part of the Mexican consul and the Mexican Government in taking his men away from him or what not, if he makes any infraction of the rules or makes a mistake.

From the evidence available to us, it appears the conciliation procedure is little used. Rather, the Mexican contract worker simply takes flight from a situation which he finds unsatisfactory or intolerable. The lack of an appropriate way of resolving employer-worker differences is one of the main reasons for a large proportion of Mexican nationals returning home before the completion of their contracts or simply deserting or "skipping" their contracts. In the one region in which we have information, desertions from contract were 20.8 percent in 1948 and 20.2 percent in 1949. Of the Mexican nationals under contract in the United States on August 31, 1950, one-third were in illegal status, primarily by deserting their contracts. Desertions from individual contracting employers range from as low as 4 percent to as high as 50 percent. Moreover, it is noted that there is a tendency for those employers having a high desertion rate in one year also to have a high desertion rate the next. We interpret this to mean that desertions from contract vary with individual management and working conditions. Where these are good, the desertions are low.

Under the terms of the August 1, 1949, International Agreement, contracts for work in sugar beets may be for a period of not less than 6 weeks; employment in cotton may be for not less than 3 months; for all other employment, the contract period is not less than 4 months. No contract may be for more than 6 months. However, with the consent of the Mexican consulate, the worker, the United States Employment Service, and the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, workers may be contracted for additional periods provided that the worker shall remain in the United States no longer than 1 year.

The contracting of Bahamians and Jamaicans is much simpler than of Mexicans. The only governing instruments are the privately negotiated work agreements and United States Immigration Law. After having received the necessary certification of labor shortage from the United States Employment Service and having posted the required bonds with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the farm employer or his agent proceeds to the Island and recruits his workers. Recruitment is under the general supervision of the Island Government. Physical examinations are made by the medical staffs of the Island Governments. The employer arranges transportation and makes advances when needed for transportation and other expenses. After clearing through an immigration station, the workers are conveyed to their employment in transportation arranged by the employer but paid for by the worker.

No procedure for handling complaints is set forth in the Bahamian or Jamaican work contracts. Each government maintains agents who supervise their performance. Apparently, communicating his complaint to this agent of his government is the only recourse a worker has under either of those contracts. The rights and responsibilities of the agent are not defined in either case. In the instance of the Jamaicans, and the procedure evidently is parallel for the Bahamians, the agent investigates the complaint and decides for or against the worker. But apparently the employer is to share in any final decision because the Jamaican contract provides that "if the Employer and the Agent determine that the Worker is unwilling to work in accordance with the terms of this Agreement or determine that the Worker has committed an act of misconduct or indiscipline, or if the Worker engages in work at any time for other than the Employer to whom he is assigned, or if the Worker violates any law of the United States of America, this Agreement may forthwith be terminated and upon such termination the Worker shall immediately be returned to Jamaica at his own expense."

Both the Bahamian and Jamaican agreements permit withholdings and deductions from the worker's pay. For the Bahamian worker, the permissible and mandatory deductions from pay are as follows:

(*a*) Against advances for transportation and subsistence expenses the employer may recover at a rate not exceeding $5 per week from all earnings in excess of $12.50 per week.

(*b*) A sum not exceeding $25, under the same deduction limitations as above, may be withheld and retained by the employer to pay deportation or repatriation costs of a worker who is required by urgent personal affairs to return to the Bahamas prior to the expiration of his agreement or becomes subject to deportation because of law violations or unwillingness or inability to work under the agreement as interpreted by the employer and the agent.

(*c*) The employer is required to withhold 25 percent of gross earnings, of which 2 percent is retained by the employer "to cover administrative expenses." The remaining 23 percent is sent to the Bahamas Government to be placed to the worker's credit.

(*d*) For meals and living accomodations, when furnished, the employer may charge not in excess of $1.40 per day.

Provisions for withholding and deducting from pay in the Jamaican agreement are generally similar. Advances may be recovered at the maximum rate of $7 per week. For meals and housing furnished, the employer may charge a maximum of $1.60 per day. The employer is to withhold 20 percent of gross earnings and remit the same to the British West Indies Central Labour Organisation in Washington, D. C. (agent for the Jamaican Government). Of this 20 percent deduction, 5 percent is retained by the above agent for administrative expenses and insurance, and the other 15 percent is placed to the credit of the worker in the Government Savings Bank of Jamaica. The agreement further requires that, after payment of dependents' allowances, and when a balance of $250 has been reached, the minimum amount to be retained in the worker's account shall be $250. If the worker absents himself without leave from his employment, and hence becomes deportable, the employer may recover any deportation expenses incurred from the worker's balance, or as much thereof as the worker's balance will permit.

Inasmuch as authorized and required deductions from the pay of Bahamian and Jamaican workers are considerable, a look at what is guaranteed the worker is of interest. Both contracts guarantee $25 for each 2 weeks in which the worker was willing and able to work. If less than the minimum is earned, the employer is obligated to pay a "subsistence allowance" in the amount of the deficiency.

It may be noted that a Bahamian worker earning only the guaranteed minimum, if provided with meals and housing by his employer, would be in this situation:

Guaranteed earnings		$25
Required withholding, 25 percent	$6.25	
Board and lodging, 14 days at $1.40	19.60	
Total	25.85	

Since no other deductions are admissible under these circumstances, the Bahamian would have a deficit of 85 cents in his savings allotment of $5.75. True, the savings allotment ultimately belongs to the Bahamian or his dependents but, on deposit with the Bahamas Government, it is of little use to the Bahamian who is in the United States without a cent in his pocket from his 2 weeks of work. Under parallel circumstances, the deficit of the Jamaican would be $2.40.

The withholdings permitted under the Bahamian and Jamaican agreement contrast sharply with the deductions permitted and specifically denied under the Mexican cantract. Deductions permitted under the Mexican Individual Work Contract based on the August 1, 1949, International Agreement are limited to legal deductions, advances against wages, articles of consumption voluntarily purchased from the employer and meals which may not exceed $1.75 per day. The sharp contrast between the Mexican and British West Indian deduction allowances is that the Mexican contract prohibits the withholding of forced savings out of which the deportation costs of the alien may be recovered if he leaves his contract or otherwise becomes deportable.

Bonds Required Under Ninth Proviso

Under the ninth proviso, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization is required to exact such bonds as are necessary "to control and regulate the admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens * * *."

These bonds, for British West Indians, have been as high as $500 per head. For Mexicans, the bond is now $25 per head. For Bahamians, it is $50; for Jamaicans, $100. In 1950, the bond for Mexicans was set at $50, but under pressure from employers, the amount was reduced to $25.

Experience shows that British West Indians desert from their contracts much less than do Mexicans. This undoubtedly is to be explained in large part by the vulnerability of the British West Indian workers to financial discipline, as provided for in their agreements. Mexican workers are subject to no such discipline.

It must be noted that the purpose of the bond is to guarantee the maintenance of status of the alien as a temporary agricultural worker and his ultimate return. While these objectives are well realized with British West Indians because of the withholding of forced savings as provided in their contracts, the bonding of Mexicans is not fully successful in either of its purposes.

Puerto Ricans in the Postwar Farm Labor Force

Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States and are free to enter and leave the mainland as they choose. From the standpoint of citizenship, it is inappropriate to discuss Puerto Ricans in a chapter dealing with contract aliens. However, since Puerto Ricans were excluded from the war emergency program in favor of alien labor and since they now find themselves in competition with alien labor, there is obviously a functional relationship which requires their being considered in this context.

Beginning on a small scale in 1946 and 1947, Puerto Ricans have been drawn increasingly into the domestic seasonal farm labor force, reaching a peak in 1950 of 8,500 or more. Before 1950, the Puerto Rican contract workers were located mainly in the Northeast; in the 1950 season some 5,300 were contracted for sugar beet work in Michigan.

By a memorandum in February 1949, the Bureau of Employment Security of the United States Department of Labor specifically acknowledged the Puerto Ricans to be part of the domestic labor force. This implies that they should be given preference of employment over alien labor.

Technically, the movement of Puerto Ricans, either seasonal or permanent, does not require negotiation of work contracts or prior certification of labor shortage. Nevertheless, in its desire to protect its citizens as much as possible, the Puerto Rican Government has insisted on both work contracts and certification of labor need before approving recruitment of its people. The Puerto Rican work contract is negotiated directly between farm employers on the mainland and the Puerto Rican Department of Labor.

Problems in the Negotiation of the Mexican International Agreement

From the discussion above, a significant fact is clear: The Government of the United States has been willing to admit, under the authority of the ninth proviso, contract aliens for farm employment under the terms of work agreements negotiated between private employers and the appropriate foreign governments or their agents. If the foreign government demands the minimum protection of a government-to-government agreement, as does Mexico, then our Department of State undertakes to negotiate such an agreement. Otherwise, the worker is largely unprotected by any standards set by the Federal Government. The inequity of treating our neighbor countries differently and the hazards to the spirit and purpose of our immigration laws are both, unfortunately, much too obvious.

Many spokesmen for farm employers who use Mexican labor criticize the Department of State openly and severely for its handling of the negotiation of the International Agreement. They say it is one-sided and does not represent their desires or needs and that it is discriminatory because it provides better conditions for the imported nationals of Mexico than those enjoyed by domestic farm labor.

In effect, the negotiation of the Mexican International Agreement is a collective bargaining situation in which the Mexican Government is the representative of the workers and the Department of State is the representative of our farm employers. The criticisms of farm employers would imply that in this arrangement the Department of State is out-negotiated. The following is the opinion of the president of the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association:

> Negotiations with Mexico have always been settled with favor to the Mexican at the expense of the American farmer. The agencies negotiating for the farmer have given concessions to the Mexican above and beyond the conditions given to the American farm worker. These concessions are made under the excuse that Mexico will take no less. It seems to us that when these workers are coming over our borders to work regardless of agreements that common sense on the part of the United States agencies will show that we must have a program that is practical and workable without excessive red tape or the farmer is not going to use it. If Mexico's demands are untenable they should be told so and left without an agreement until we can have a fair arrangement, even though our State Department feels such conditions would be worse than a bad contract for the American farmer and even if such a contract does cause the present "Wet Mexican" problem and continued evasion by American farmers of a program that is unsatisfactory to them.

The Mexican and United States representatives do not approach negotiations with equal freedom for bargaining. Mexico, by law, prescribes minimum standards in several respects for her nationals leaving for employment abroad whereas we, by law, prescribe virtually no minimum standards for domestic agricultural workers. Herein lies the basic difficulty in the International Agreement with Mexico. If we had legislative standards for farm workers equal to those we have for industrial labor, most of the obstacles confronted in its negotiation and administration would vanish.

The inherent conflicts in this situation are quite apparent. If the Department of State negotiates with respect to the general interests of the Nation and of amicable international relations, it can scarcely be expected that the private interests of farm employers will, at the same time, be fully satisfied. Conversely, if the State Department, in these negotiations, were to represent farm employer interests exclusively, the general interests of the Nation and of amicable international relations might well be neglected or jeopardized.

In preparing for negotiations on the International Agreement, the State Department is handicapped by not being able to consult, in an orderly way, all interested groups. Farm employers are well organized and articulate. Farm workers, on the other hand, have virtually no organization and are not in a position to present their views. Nevertheless, worker organizations which do exist have clear views on the Mexican agreement. For example, the research director of the National Farm Labor Union testified at our Los Angeles hearing:

> Now we take this position * * * that in California every condition which represents a problem in the relation of the worker to his employer—I say every condition—which already existed in the form of a problem, is aggravated by the importation, the contracting or the use of these three types of labor (illegals, contract nationals, and legalized wetbacks).

In further testimony, this union representative spelled out his statement in detail with respect to wage levels, wage differentials based on race, and the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively.

Because they lack the channels for doing so, the interests of domestic labor and of the American public are not brought before the State Department in an organized way. It is not strange that, under these circumstances, the State Department, when negotiating the International Agreement, is hardly in a position to give the same consideration to the interests of labor and of the general public as it gives to the interests of employers.

Another observation needs to be made on the negotiation of the Mexican International Agreement and the role of the State Department. As noted above, Mexico is the only country which requires an intergovernmental agreement; by coincidence, Mexico is the country which is ostensibly least interested in having its nationals do farm work in the United States. The greater concern of the British West Indies and of Puerto Rico to allow their people to enter into farm employment is reflected in the terms of their agreements, all of which are somewhat less costly to employers in one respect or another than is the Mexican agreement. All agreements depend on "prevailing wages" being paid, but they differ materially in minimum employment guarantees, in employers' obligation to pay transportation, and to provide medical care, and in the worker's potential obligation to finance his own deportation. One of the important cost items is transportation on which the differences are as follows: The Mexican agreement, as required by Mexican law, obligates the employer to pay all transportation both ways, including subsistence. The Bahamian and Jamaican contracts provide that transportation be paid one way; the Puerto Rican pays his own transportation.

Another complication in the negotiation of the Mexican agreement is the dual burden that has been placed on it. As we noted earlier, it has been used as a basis for admission of contract aliens and also for the contracting of aliens already illegally in the United States. This complication is considered next.

Postwar Mexican Farm Labor Program as a Mechanism for Legalizing Wetbacks

Wetbacks are Mexicans illegally in the United States. The request to contract wetbacks in the United States was made by the Government of Mexico. From the viewpoint of Mexico, this request had merit. With large numbers of its citizens already in the United States illegally, there was occasion to be critical of the request of the United States that additional Mexicans be recruited and imported under contract. Moreover, Mexican employers were reluctant to have still more of their labor supply taken away. Farm employers in the United States, too, favored legalizing wetbacks as an alternative to contracting in the interior of Mexico because they could thereby contract experienced workers and also save in transportation costs.

As described earlier, the first Mexican-United States agreement to legalize illegal aliens by putting them under contract was made in 1947. Under this agreement some 55,000 illegal aliens had their status made legal in 1947. The number imported directly from Mexico in 1947 was only 19,632, which, together with those remaining from previous years, gave a total (nonlegalized) contract employment of 31,000. Hence, the bulk of the Mexican farm-labor program in 1947 consisted of legalized wetbacks.

In 1948, no wetbacks were placed under contract but when contracting of workers from the interior did not function as expected, a large number of Mexican workers accumulated at the border. In October, several thousand breached the border patrol lines in the vicinity of El Paso and entered illegally. Instead of deporting the illegally entered Mexican workers immediately, they were, by unilateral action of the United States, "paroled" to farm employers who wanted their services. This was the so-called "October incident" or "El Paso incident" of 1948. Thereafter, Mexico abrogated the International Agreement that had become effective February 21, 1948. During the effective period of the 1948 agreement, 35,345 nationals were imported from the interior of Mexico.

The current agreement, dated August 1, 1949, acknowledges the illegal traffic and binds both Governments "to take all measures necessary to suppress radically the illegal traffic of Mexican workers." But this agreement itself provides for the contracting of wetbacks who entered the United States before August 1, 1949. Such illegal aliens were given preference of employment over workers from Mexico who had not violated the United States immigration laws. In 1949, 19,625 Mexican farm workers were contracted in interior Mexico; in the same year, 87,220 wetbacks were legalized.

For the 3 years, 1947–49, the Mexican farm-labor program in summary amounts to this: 74,600 Mexican nationals under contract were brought from the interior of Mexico; 142,200 wetbacks already in the United States were legalized by being put under contract. Legalization of wetbacks occurred again in 1950. Meanwhile, the accelerated wetback traffic continued unabated.

When the contracting of wetbacks was proposed by Mexico, the Immigration and Naturalization Service saw it as a threat to enforcement of the immigration law and opposed it. To be prevented from deporting a deportable alien is, in effect, to be prevented from enforcing the law. A technique more insidious than ingenious was devised and put in effect by the agencies of the United States Government having responsibility for law enforcement and procurement of labor. In this improvisation, the Immigration and Naturalization Service would be allowed to "deport" the wetback by having him brought to the border at which point the wetback would be given an identification slip. Momentarily, he would step across the boundary line. Having thus been subjected to the magic of token deportation, the illegal alien was now merely alien and was eligible to step back across the boundary to be legally contracted.

In fairness to Government officials participating in the practice of contracting wetbacks, it needs to be noted that some limits and qualifications were imposed. These were apparently expected to make the legalization program a substitute for, rather than an accelerator of, the wetback traffic. The limits apply to eligibility of the wetback to be contracted and also to the eligibility of the employer to contract Mexican aliens. In the hope that the possibility of being contracted would not encourage further wetback entries, the August 1949 agreement gave preference of employment only to those who had entered prior to the effective date of the agreement. Likewise, when the contracting of wetbacks was again agreed to on July 27, 1950, under an interpretation of the 1949 agreement, only the wetbacks entering prior to July 27, 1950, were eligible to be contracted. However, since wetbacks were contracted in 1947, 1949, and 1950, and were "paroled" to employers in 1948, it is doubtful if this sort of limitation, if ever effective, will be so any longer. If this process is continued, the wetbacks will almost certainly be encouraged to enter illegally in the hope of being legalized later on.

The limitation on employer eligibility to contract Mexican workers is contained in section 23 of the International Executive Agreement of August 1949:

> Permission to contract Workers under this Agreement shall not be granted to those Employers who continue to use Mexican workers who are illegally in the United States. Any authority granted for the employment of Workers under this Agreement shall be canceled in the case of any Employer who, after such authority is granted, engages Workers who are illegally in the United States.

We found little evidence of effort to enforce this provision. Certainly, neither this limitation nor the eligibility limitation on the wetback have made the contract procedure a substitute for the wetback traffic.

Number and Proportions of Foreign Contract Workers in Postwar Farm Employment

The foreign agricultural labor program, including the contracting of wetbacks, reached its maximum at over 100,000 in 1949. The ratio of foreign workers to total farm employment was about the same as at the peak of the war emergency program. Foreign workers under contract at the peak of 1949 were 2.6 percent of the total hired workers in the Nation and were 7/10 of 1 percent of total agricultural employment, including farm operators and family members as well as those hired for wages.

Year	Mexicans [1]	British West Indians	Total foreign on contract	Foreign workers as a percentage of	
				All hired workers	All employment
1947	86, 331	9, 553	95, 884	2. 4	0. 6
1948	[2] 37, 331	6, 055	43, 386	1. 0	. 3
1949	100, 476	[3] 8, 176	108, 652	2. 6	. 7
1950	90, 005	[3] 4, 394	94, 399	2. 7	. 7

[1] Includes wetbacks contracted.

[2] Does not include wetbacks "paroled" to farm employers.

[3] Estimates.

Areas Served by Postwar Foreign Labor Program

As we reported above, the Mexican war emergency farm-labor program was concentrated in California and the Northwest. During postwar years, the concentration shifted to Texas, New Mexico, and Arkansas. In contrast, the areas of concentration of Bahamian and Jamaican labor were much the same in both the war emergency and the postwar phases.

Postwar, Bahamians have been contracted principally by the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association and Jamaicans principally by the Florida Sugar Producers Association (actually the United States Sugar Corporation). Most of both groups work in Florida during the winter. Following the winter season, when work in Florida is slack, many of these workers are recontracted and others imported by vegetable growers and processors in the North Central States, principally in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Minnesota and in Connecticut.

The contrasting shift in the Mexican program is this: California which in 1945 received 63 percent of the Mexican workers had only 8 percent in 1949. The States of the Northwest, which with California, had 78 percent of the Mexican program in 1945, had no Mexican workers in 1949. Texas, which had no legally contracted Mexicans in wartime, had 46 percent of all Mexican nationals under contract in 1949. New Mexico and Arkansas, which had none of the Mexican workers in wartime, had 17 and 16 percent, respectively, in 1949. Together, Texas, New Mexico, and Arkansas had 79 percent of the 1949 Mexican labor program.

For convenience, and because it graphically summarizes what has been said above, the areas principally served by the war emergency and the postwar phases of the Mexican farm labor programs are summarized:

State	Percentage of contract Mexican workers in 1945		Percentage of contract Mexican workers in 1949	
California	63	78	8	
Washington	6		None	
Idaho	5		None	
Oregon	4		None	
Texas	None		46	79
New Mexico	None		17	
Arkansas	None		16	

Two matters of considerable significance in this connection deserve attention:

(*a*) The areas served by the war emergency program were high-wage States which had been gaining population by in-migration during the preceding decade.

(*b*) The areas served by the postwar program are low-wage States that disgorged population during the decade of the thirties.

Has Importation of Foreign Labor Been Detrimental To Domestic Labor?

Under the rules and conditions issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Attorney General in exercising the discretion of the ninth proviso to section 3 of the Immigration Law of 1917, the United States Employment Service has had the responsibility, before certifying the need of foreign labor, of determining that sufficient domestic workers were not available. Further, in the Information Bulletin issued jointly by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and the Director of the United States Employment Service relative to the August 1, 1949, International Agreement with Mexico, the statement is specifically made that the ninth proviso authority will be invoked only when "the admission of such Mexican nationals will not result in displacement of American farm workers or otherwise detrimentally affect such labor in this country." The same conditions are also supposed to apply to importation of contract aliens from the British West Indies.

Has this safeguard to the welfare of domestic workers been observed? The testimony to the Commission by farm employers and farm workers was conflicting. Farm employers testified that foreign labor importation could not possibly have had a detrimental effect on domestic labor because domestic labor was said not to be available for the work required. Farm workers, on the other hand, testified that foreign labor had displaced domestic workers and had adversely affected wages.

It is difficult to determine the answer to these conflicting views. The sharp difference of view, as reported to this Commission, related principally to the areas in which Mexican labor was employed, both legally and illegally. As is apparent from the facts above related, the Mexicans are the largest group and the most concentrated geographically. California, in which the war emergency program centered, has cotton picking as one of its principal hand-labor employments. Texas, New Mexico, and Arkansas in which the postwar program has been centered have also cotton picking as the principal employment for Mexican contract workers. If the presence of contract workers is associated with or related to changes in wages, such relationship should logically show up in the principal employment of contract aliens which is common to the various areas of their concentration. Accordingly, we have compared changes in wage rates for cotton picking during the wartime and also during the postwar phases.

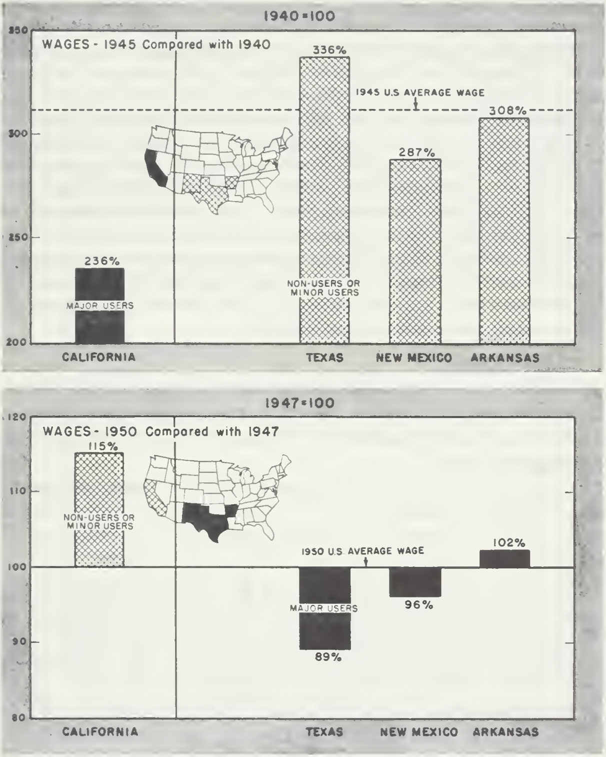
The comparisons are shown in chart VII. These are based on piece rates for picking cotton as compiled by the United States Department of Agriculture.

In California, which received the overwhelming majority of the Mexican nationals imported during the wartime program, the wage for cotton picking increased 136 percent from 1940 to 1945 as compared with a

CHANGES IN AVERAGE WAGES FOR COTTON PICKING

War and Post-War Employment of Mexican Contract Labor

Chart VII



Nation-wide average increase of 211 percent. Cotton picking wages in other States not participating significantly in the wartime Mexican importation rose in varying amounts between 166 percent and 236 percent.

In the postwar phase of the program when the concentration shifted from California into Texas, New Mexico, and Arkansas, the comparative changes in cotton-picking wages again were reversed. In California, which got very few Mexican nationals after 1947, cotton-picking wages rose by 15 percent; Nation-wide there was no change. In Texas and New Mexico, each of which got significantly large numbers of Mexican nationals from the postwar program, cotton-picking wages dropped 11 and 4 percent, respectively. In Arkansas the cotton-picking wage increased, but here the increase was only 2 percent.

Taking the two principal States in which the wartime and postwar Mexican contract programs were centered, California and Texas, the relations between wage changes and the presence of alien laborers in large numbers can be summarized as follows:

Wartime Program:

California got 63 percent of the contract Mexicans (1945); raised its cotton wages 136 percent.

Texas got no contract Mexicans; raised its cotton wages 236 percent.

Postwar Program:

California got 8 percent of the contract Mexicans (1949); raised its cotton wages 15 percent.

Texas got 46 percent of the contract Mexicans (1949); lowered its cotton wages 11 percent.

Changes in wages in the principal areas of employment and in the principal crop of employment have been inverse to the numbers of contract Mexicans. Obviously, from what was said earlier, legal Mexican contract labor and wetback labor are in close relationship, particularly in 1947 and thereafter. Consequently, the above wage changes would seem to be influenced by the wetback traffic as well as by contract labor. However, taking the influence of the wetback traffic into account does not alter the results of the wage comparison. In 1940–45, Texas undoubtedly had a somewhat greater proportion of wetbacks in its farm labor supply than did California. But the wetbacks notwithstanding, cotton-picking wages rose in Texas far more than in California. For the comparison of 1947 to 1950, the wetbacks and the contract workers were yet more closely interrelated in Texas because of the large amount of contracting of wetbacks there. The comparison amounts to this: Texas, with its large supply of wetback and contract labor, reduced its wages 11 percent; California, with little contract labor and a relatively smaller wetback saturation, raised its wages 15 percent.

The association between wage changes and foreign labor supply as here indicated is consistent with the national picture for all farm wages. Elsewhere, we are reporting that farm wages generally in dollar terms have stayed substantially constant in the past 4 years. In view of the fact that other wages and the cost of living have risen, this means that farm wages have declined in comparative terms and in purchasing power.

When we find that there was little change in the Nation-wide average of farm wages, and as a glance at the chart will show, that wages by States were inversely related to the supply of alien labor, it would seem that foreign labor has detrimentally affected the wages of domestic labor.

It is our conclusion that the evidence demonstrates that the agencies of Government responsible for importing and contracting foreign labor have not been successful in protecting domestic farm labor from detrimental effects of imported contract alien labor. We find alien labor has depressed farm wages and, therefore, has been detrimental to domestic labor.

The "Prevailing Wage"

All foreign labor agreements, and the Puerto Rican agreement as well, provide for the payment of a stipulated minimum wage or the "prevailing wage," whichever is higher. The stipulated minimum wage is a nominal rate which varies from one agreement to another, but, with some exceptions, ranges from 40 to 60 cents an hour. Ordinarily, the so-called prevailing rate is the effective rate. The "prevailing rate" is not officially set or determined by any Government agency.

We endeavored, without much success, to find out what the prevailing wage is and how it is determined. Neither Government agency people nor employers or workers could give much enlightenment.

As best we could determine, the "prevailing wage" in seasonal employment in agriculture is arrived at somewhat in this manner: Farm employers meet in advance of the season and decide on the wage they intend to pay. It is set at an amount they hope they won't have to exceed during the season. Whether the wage agreed upon is sufficient to attract the labor supply needed is apparently not usually considered an important factor in making the decision.

The president of the New Mexico Farm and Livestock Bureau candidly described the method of setting the "prevailing wage" as follows:

> The prevailing wage is really set by the farmers for the various types of jobs on the farm, and it will vary, depending upon the type of work the man does * * * We have a meeting at the beginning of the season; the farmers have a meeting and they determine, roughly, what they are going to pay. It doesn't mean that they will hold to it; it will vary, as a matter of fact.

This wage, as decided upon by farm employers, usually weeks in advance of the work period, is accepted by the public employment services as the going wage until the season opens and employment actually gets under way. If a labor shortage is certified and importation contracts are signed, the wage rate, thus decided in advance, is applied in the contract. If, as usually occurs, the "prevailing wage" is set too low to attract the desired number of workers, and has to be increased after the season opens, one would expect, under the language of the foreign agreements, that the revised higher wage would be paid. Nonetheless, from the evidence available to us, it appears that Mexican workers under contract are occasionally paid less than the wages at which domestic workers are employed.

We do not, however, wish to advance the interpretation that imported labor is commonly paid less within a given area than domestic labor. Rather it appears that the same wage rates generally are paid to both foreign and domestic workers. The point we do wish to emphasize is that the "prevailing wage," as currently in vogue in seasonal and migratory farm employment, is in some respects worse than meaningless. The recruitment of the labor supply prior to the opening of seasonal work obviously requires some sort of a wage quotation. When this wage quotation is set by agreement among farm employers alone and with little or no regard to whether it is a sufficient wage to attract workers, it cannot very well serve as the price to equate the supply of and demand for labor.

This is especially true when contract foreign workers are brought in at the arbitrary wage rate which then inevitably tends to set the pattern of wages in the locality. Consequently, it is useless to pretend that this "prevailing wage" has either the fairness or the precision of a wage developed by employers and workers meeting on an equal footing.

The concept of the "minimum prevailing wage" is sometimes used in nonagricultural employment. For example, it is contained in the Walsh-Healey Act covering public contract work. As used there, however, the term has a meaning entirely different. The first big difference is that, in nonfarm employment, the wage is usually bargained collectively and is not set by unilateral action of employers. The second difference is that it is a wage for actual employment—a wage which attracts the labor supply needed, whereas for farm employment the word "prevailing" is misused to apply to a situation where the work has not yet commenced; hence, there is no way of knowing in the latter instance if it is a sufficient wage. Third, in nonfarm employment there is an official and formal determination of the amount of the minimum prevailing wage for the job in question; in agriculture there is no such official determination.

In the normal competitive market, prices, including the price of labor, are determined by the forces of supply and demand. Accordingly, if there is a labor shortage, the price of labor should rise. Yet the opposite of this actually has occurred with wages of migratory farm workers. During the past 4 years of alleged "labor shortage" in agriculture, as we report in chapter 7, farm wages in real and comparative terms have declined. A labor shortage with falling wages is difficult to understand.

The wage practice in agriculture and the demand for alien labor are directly associated. Alien labor importation cannot be divorced from the practice of fixing an arbitrary wage which does not attract a sufficient number of workers. The wage at which we declare a farm labor shortage to exist is the result of a one-sided wage bargain made by associations of farm employers.

Certification of Need for Foreign Labor

As we said earlier, foreign workers cannot be imported and the movement of Puerto Ricans to the mainland is not approved unless the United States Employment Service has certified that a domestic labor shortage exists. Notwithstanding that certificates of shortage have been issued in great numbers, there is no method of knowing with reasonable exactness whether a shortage of domestic labor would exist if some other wage rate were offered. One of the difficulties in knowing whether a labor shortage does exist or may come to exist is the effect of the present practice for determining the "prevailing wage." The rate agreed to in advance is typically lower than the rate actually paid when the season is under way. At the low rate initially offered, it is quite conceivable that insufficient domestic labor is attracted; therefore, a "labor shortage" can be said to exist—at that price.

There is another dilemma in the process of certifying a domestic labor shortage. Domestic workers are not offered the minimum employment guarantee or workman's compensation insurance and other benefits that foreign workers and Puerto Ricans secure under their contracts. This question must therefore be raised: How is it possible to know if a labor shortage exists until domestic workers have been offered at least those standards and conditions that have to be offered in order to get foreign labor or Puerto Ricans?

Finally, there is the question of whether we do what needs to be done to make effective use of our domestic labor supply. In the previous chapter, we reported that since 1945 more hired workers are being employed to do continuously less work. We have also discussed the many imperfections in the employment structure of American agriculture which result in poor use of our labor resources. Notwithstanding these imperfections and obstacles to effective use of labor, we are convinced that, by better recruitment and placement of domestic labor, we would have eliminated most if not all of the occasion for the certifications of labor shortage during the years 1947 to 1950.

On paper the employment service structure—Federal and State—has an elaborate set of procedures which are supposed to guarantee that need for foreign workers will not be certified until the domestic labor supply is fully used. Nevertheless, the Commission received evidence that in 1950 domestic workers had been removed from employment—principally cotton picking—in order to accommodate contract Mexican aliens. The background of most such displacements appears to be this: Farm employers, having convinced themselves and the Employment Service in advance of the harvest season of an impending labor shortage, ordered foreign labor. In the early stages of the crop harvest and prior to the arrival of the contract nationals, local workers (of whom more than expected were available) were put to work. On arrival of the Mexicans, and contrary to the regulations governing employment of foreign workers, the already employed domestic workers were displaced so that the Mexican nationals could have the work they had been contracted to do.

In large part, this sort of disorder will be reduced if not eliminated by separating the employment service function for domestic workers from the administrative responsibilities for contracting and importing foreign labor. When the agency which certifies a labor shortage also is the agency which fills that shortage by importation, it is much too easy to offset an ineffective recruiting and placement job at home by importing more workers from abroad. This is a structural handicap under which the Employment Service has been operating.

The authors of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933, which is the authority for Federal participation in the public employment service system, foresaw that the service might be subject to pressure and might have difficulty in maintaining impartiality in its actions and programs. Accordingly, the act contained the following provision (sec. 11 (a)):

> The Secretary (of Labor) shall establish a Federal Advisory Council composed of men and women representing employers and employees in equal numbers and the public for the purpose of formulating policies and discussing problems relating to employment and insuring impartiality, neutrality, and freedom from political influence in the solution of such problems * * *. The Secretary shall also require the organization of similar State advisory councils composed of men and women representing employers and employees in equal numbers and the public.

As required by the statute, the Federal Council is a functioning entity. It currently consists of 15 representatives of the general public and 9 each of employers and employees. It meets several times a year.

Following the transfer in 1948 of the farm placement program from the Department of Agriculture, where it was put during World War II, to the United States Employment Service, an advisory group, to which we referred in the preceding chapter, called the "Special Farm Labor Committee," was appointed. This committee advises the Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service on matters pertaining to farm labor recruitment and placement. The committee is composed exclusively of farm employers or their representatives. The membership, one from each State, is primarily from those farm interests which hire migratory labor. To give its advice to the Farm Placement Service on their programs and on prospective legislation, this Special Farm Labor Committee is requested to convene, in Washington, D. C., twice or three times each year, the transportation and expenses of the members being paid from public funds. In its meetings, this committee concerns itself with policies affecting the recruitment, placement, and employment of all types of hired farm labor, but also, it concerns itself to a great extent with foreign labor—the need for foreign workers, and the terms and conditions under which they might be procured.

A year ago, this "Special Farm Labor Committee" and the statutory Federal Advisory Council differed in their views as to the necessity for importation of foreign labor for the 1950 season. The position of the Federal Advisory Council was expressed in the following resolution passed at its December meeting in 1949:

> *Resolved,* That the United States Employment Service advise all agencies of the Government that there are sufficient numbers of American citizens available for farm work to meet any anticipated requirements for manpower on the Nation's farms during the coming year, and there is no longer any need for importation of foreign labor.
>
> We therefore recommend that no international agreements be negotiated or any other arrangements be made during the coming year for recruitment of foreign workers and further, that the United States Employment Service withdraw all pending certifications of need for foreign agricultural workers and order the return to their native homes of all foreign agricultural workers now employed in the United States, upon completion of their present contracts.

The Special Farm Labor Committee met 1 month later in January 1950 and adopted the following resolution:

> Whereas, the extent to which qualified farm workers will be available from domestic sources during the year 1950 for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of field crops is dependent upon many unforeseeable and uncontrollable factors; and
>
> Whereas, the assumptions contained in said resolution of December 16, that adequate qualified farm labor will be available to meet all needs in all areas at the time when such labor is needed was not then and cannot now be supported by any facts or data to substantiate such assumptions;
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved, that this Special Farm Labor Advisory Committee, meeting in Washington, D. C., on January 17 and 18, 1950, urges the United States Employment Service that, to the extent that it is necessary to assure that qualified farm workers will be available to meet farm labor requirements in this country during the year 1950, it shall continue arrangements for supplementing the domestic farm labor force;
>
> And be it further resolved, that the United States Employment Service is commended for its appreciation and understanding of the farm labor problems and the measure of success it has achieved in meeting these problems.

Inasmuch as we had a foreign labor program of considerable proportions during 1950, it is evident that the advice of the nonstatutory Special Farm Labor Committee made up of employer representatives alone, was followed rather than the recommendation of the tri-partite statutory council.

Is Importation of Foreign Farm Laborers Consistent With National Immigration Policy?

Congress has enacted a body of laws defining this Nation's policy toward admission of foreigners. It began by excluding Chinese "coolie" laborers in 1882. Since that time, Congress has spelled out the national interest by declaring a policy that American living and working standards, particularly of wage earners, are not to be undermined by foreign labor competition. Congress has taken various measures to make this policy effective, including prohibition of contracting laborers abroad to work in the United States and severe restriction on the number of immigrants to be admitted.

The farm labor importation program that began in World War II provided for temporary admissions only, for official certifications to limit the number admitted, for governmental negotiation of contracts and for official supervision of the terms of the contracts. On the surface, these met the requirements of national immigration policy, provided they were effectively enforced, and assuming that there was justification for admitting foreign laborers at all. If contracting of foreign labor was permitted, at least it was to be contracting by government, not by private employers or their agents as forbidden by the Contract Labor Law.

But official vigilance for the protection of living and working standards of alien farm laborers was largely abandoned in the postwar phase. Responsible United States administrative agencies practically ceased to exert effective effort to preserve the requirements of national immigration policy. The same ineffectiveness or laxity that undermined protective standards in the contract spread also to the official scrutiny of the number of foreign laborers that employers claimed they needed. Thus, temporary foreign laborers passing in and out of this country with little restriction have come to substitute for a supply subject to stringent numerical restrictions, thereby furnishing the very competition to American labor that it is the purpose of the immigration law to prevent.

This undermining of national policy stands out more clearly in that it has been the negotiators for foreign governments, notably of Mexico, rather than our own representatives, who have secured reasonable limitation of numbers and some protection to labor standards. While their motive is primarily to protect the standards of their own nationals working in the United States, the effect of their concern, fortunately, is also to help sustain the tenets of American policy. The contrast in this curious difference of attitudes is heightened by the fact that through the negotiations of their governments, foreign laborers have actually achieved, in most instances, better living and working conditions than domestic workers whose protection is a main concern of American immigration law.

Step by step, during the last decade, there has been a constant eroding of immigration law. These are the principal stages in the erosion:

(*a*) Public Law 45 enacted on April 29, 1943 provided:

> No part of the funds * * * shall be used directly or indirectly to fix, regulate, or impose minimum wages or housing standards, to regulate hours of work, or to impose or enforce collective bargaining requirements or union membership, with respect to agricultural labor, except with respect to workers imported into the United States from a foreign country and then only to the extent required to comply with agreements with the government of such country.

Under this statute, we could enforce standards required by foreign governments for their workers but we could not establish or enforce standards for our own.

(*b*) During the wartime program the United States Government was the labor contractor and operated within the confines of negotiated government-to-government agreements. Following the war, we abandoned these protections in two ways: For the Mexicans, who still insisted on a government-to-government agreement covering the general terms of contracting and importation, we virtually abandoned effective scrutiny and enforcement of the Individual Work Contracts to which private employers and individual Mexican aliens were the parties. For the Jamaicans and Bahamians, whose governments did not insist on intergovernmental agreements after those of World War II terminated, we have given no official scrutiny to the terms of the work contracts or to their enforcement. In these instances, our authorities have permitted the entry of contract alien labor on whatever terms these foreign governments were able to secure in negotiation with private employers of the United States.

(*c*) The latest and probably worst stage in this erosion of immigration law was when, under the authority of the ninth proviso, Mexican wetbacks were legalized and placed under contract. The ninth proviso allows the temporary admission and return of otherwise inadmissible aliens—under rules and conditions. In the contracting of Bahamians and Jamaicans without government supervision of terms, we have seen, for all practical purposes, the abandonment of rules and conditions. In the contracting of wetbacks, we see the abandonment of the concept that the ninth proviso authority is limited to *admission*. A wetback is not admitted; he is already here, unlawfully. We have thus reached a point where we place a premium upon violation of the immigration law.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) Foreign labor importation and contracting be under the terms of intergovernmental agreements which clearly state the conditions and standards of employment under which the foreign workers are to be employed. These should be substantially the same for all countries. No employer, employer's representative or association of employers, or labor contractor should be permitted to contract directly with foreign workers for employment in the United States. This is not intended to preclude employer participation in the selection of qualified workers when all other requirements of legal importation are fulfilled.

(2) The United States-Mexican intergovernmental agreement be in terms that will promote immigration law enforcement. The Department of State should negotiate with the Government of Mexico such a workable international agreement as will assure its operation as the exclusive channel for the importation of Mexican nationals under contract, free from the competition of illegal migration.

(3) Administration of foreign labor recruiting, contracting, transporting, and agreements be made the direct responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This should be the principal contracting agency, and private employers should secure their foreign workers exclusively from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

(4) The Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service certify to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor when and if labor requirements cannot be filled from domestic sources and the numbers of additional workers needed. On alien contract labor, the United States Employment Service and the various State employment services should be advised by the tripartite advisory council provided for in the Wagner-Peyser Act, or by tripartite subcommittees of the council. However, no certification of shortage of domestic labor should be made unless and until continental domestic labor has been offered the same terms and conditions of employment as are offered to foreign workers. After certifying the need for foreign workers, the United States Employment Sevice should have no administrative responsibilities in connection with any foreign labor program.

(5) In accordance with the policies of the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, the Immigration and Naturalization Service arrange, subject to the terms of the intergovernmental agreements then in force, for the importation of the number of qualified foreign agricultural workers certified as needed by the United States Employment Service, and transport them to appropriate reception and contracting centers in the United States.

(6) The Immigration and Naturalization Service deliver the imported

workers to the farm employers who have submitted the necessary applications and bonds, and who have signed individual work agreements. Employment should be under the general supervision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. An adequate procedure for investigating and resolving complaints and disputes originating from either party should be negotiated in the international agreements and should be incorporated in the standard work contracts. The Immigration and Naturalization Service should be authorized to terminate any contract of employment and remove the workers, and to refuse to furnish foreign workers to any employer or association of employers when there has been repeated or willful violation of previous agreements, or where there is reasonable doubt that the terms of the current agreement are being observed. The Immigration and Naturalization Service should, in the discharge of its obligations, receive such assistance from the United States Employment Service as it may request.

(7) Puerto Rico and Hawaii, as possessions of the United States, be recognized as part of the domestic labor supply, and workers from these territories be accorded preference over foreign labor in such employment as they are willing and suited to fill.

(8) Where a government-to-government agreement provides for the payment of the prevailing wage to foreign contract workers, this wage be ascertained by public authority after a hearing. The policies, procedures, and responsibilities involved should be determined by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor.

Chapter 4

The Wetback Invasion—Illegal Alien Labor in American Agriculture

We were directed to investigate:

> * * * the extent of illegal migration of foreign workers into the United States and the problems created thereby, and whether, and in what respect, current law enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to eliminate such illegal migration.

In recent years, literally hundreds of thousands of Mexican agricultural workers, known as wetbacks, have illegally entered the United States in search of employment. The wetback is a Mexican national who, figuratively, if not literally, wades or swims the Rio Grande. Whether he enters by wading or swimming, crawls through a hole in a fence, or just walks over a momentarily unguarded section of the long land border, he is a wetback. Since he enters by evading the immigration officers, he is, in any event, an illegally entered alien. The term wetback is widely accepted and is used without derision; hence for convenience it is used here.

Before 1944 the illegal traffic on the Mexican border, though always going on, was never overwhelming in numbers. Apprehensions by immigration officials leading to deportations or voluntary departures before 1944 were fairly stable and under 10 thousand per year. Although the exact size of the wetback traffic is virtually impossible to determine, the number of apprehensions by immigration officers is a general indicator but far from a precise means of measurement. The same individual may be apprehended several times during the season and therefore would be duplicated in the apprehension count. On the other hand, large numbers enter and leave without being apprehended and hence would not be in the deportation or departure figures at all.

The magnitude of the wetback traffic has reached entirely new levels in the past 7 years. The number of deportations and voluntary departures has continuously mounted each year, from 29 thousand in 1944 to 565 thousand in 1950 (see chart VIII). In its newly achieved proportions, it is virtually an invasion. It is estimated that at least 400 thousand of our migratory farm labor force of 1 million in 1949 were wetbacks.

The wetback traffic formerly was limited primarily to the areas near the border. Recently, it has spread, though with diminishing intensity at greater distances from the border, to virtually all States of the Union. Before 1944 employment of wetbacks was largely at hand labor in agriculture; now they are infiltrating a wide range of nonfarm jobs and occupations.

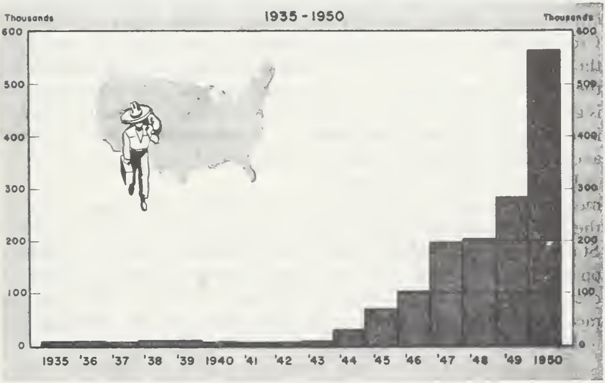
Mexican nationals employed under contract are not permitted to bring their families with them. Wetbacks, on the other hand, often bring or acquire families. Many social complications are intensified by the presence of families. It must be noted, moreover, that a child born in the United States, though of Mexican illegal alien parents, is a citizen of the United States. The parents of such a child, if apprehended by immigration authorities, may file a petition for stay of deportation on the grounds of hardship.

A comparison of more than incidental interest is the volume of the wetback traffic as contrasted to our admissions of displaced persons from Europe. In 1949, when we admitted 119,600 displaced Europeans, our apprehended wetback traffic was almost 300,000; in 1950, when we admitted 85,600 displaced Europeans, our known wetback traffic was between 500 and 600 thousand.

The newly developed magnitudes of wetback traffic have brought their inevitable consequences. Foremost among these consequences is the severe and adverse pressure on wages in the areas nearest the border. A second consequence of the wetback is competition for employment and displacement of American workers. This is particularly aggravated

DEPORTATIONS AND VOLUNTARY DEPARTURES OF ILLEGAL MEXICAN ALIENS

Chart VIII



in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. Furthermore, there are other developments which, although not directly and entirely consequences of the wetback influx, are nevertheless inevitably associated with it. These include the astoundingly high disease and death rates in the counties lying next to the border.

To understand the wetback traffic, it is essential to know something of its foundations and the forces that produce it. Essentially, its foundations lie in a combination of factors that "push" the Mexican national northward within his own country and "pull" him across the border in violation of immigration law.

The "Push" Forces in Mexico and Their Relations to the Wetback Traffic

Of first importance among the "push" forces in Mexico is population pressure in relation to resource development. Mexico, not yet with the economy to provide its citizens with a standard of living approaching that of the United States, is experiencing a very rapid population increase. Population grew from 16.5 million in 1930 to 19.6 million in 1940, and to 25.5 million in 1950, making a population increase in the past decade of 30 percent.

Both birth and death rates are high in Mexico. Compared with the United States birth rate of 25.3 per thousand of population, the Mexican birth rate is 45.4 (both rates as of 1949). The death rate of Mexico is 17.9 per thousand population compared with the United States death rate of 9.7 (1949). The birth rate in Mexico is declining but the death rate is falling faster, which means that net survivals are increasing.

The excess of births over deaths in Mexico, as compared with the United States, means that it has a large potential for internal population growth. The economy of Mexico is still largely agricultural. Crop land is severely restricted in amount and production methods for the most part are primitive. As a result, the pressure of population on the food supply and the developed income-yielding resources of Mexico is great and is becoming more intense. The differential in income level is reflected in the 1949 per capita income in the United States of $1,453 as compared with $114 in Mexico.

Inflation is next in importance to population pressure as a factor motivating search for employment in the United States. Since 1939, the cost of living in Mexico has risen much more than in the United States. By June 1950, the cost of living index in Mexico City based on 1939 was 354; comparatively, in the same period, the United States cost of living index was 171, or less than half as much. Inflation has meant that Mexican wages, already extremely poor, have become worse.

Farm wages in areas of Mexico near the border, in December 1947, were, in United States dollars, $1.10 a day. Through continued inflation, the wage in October 1949 was only 69 cents per day in United States money. In the interior of Mexico, the farm wage in October 1949 was the equivalent of only 38 cents per day in United States money.

Population is much less dense in the north of Mexico and wages are higher than in central and southern Mexico. As population continues its rapid increase, northward expansion is the only direction feasible in either geographic or economic terms. Moreover, the Mexican side of the Rio Grande Valley recently has undergone very marked economic expansion. For example, cotton production in the Matamoros area (Lower Rio Grande Valley) is reported to have increased from 46,000 bales in 1939 to over 300,000 bales in 1949. It is further expected that within the next 2 or 3 years irrigated acreage in the Matamoros district will more than double.

Farmers in these northern areas of Mexico require seasonal labor for the cotton harvest just as do the farmers on our side of the Rio Grande. There is, accordingly, an internal northward migration for this employment. Mexican farm employers in need of seasonal labor encourage northward migratory movements within Mexico.

This rapid economic development in the areas immediately south of the border has accelerated the wetback traffic in several ways. An official in Matamoros estimates that 25,000 transient cotton pickers were needed in the 1950 season whereas the number coming from interior Mexico was estimated at 60,000. It is to be expected that many Mexican workers coming north with the anticipation of working in northern Mexico do not find employment there and ultimately spill over the border and become wetbacks. Additionally, the resident labor force at the border is expanding by leaps and bounds.

What has been happening generally in the areas of Mexico immediately south of the border is reflected by the phenomenal increase in population in the principal Mexican border towns and cities. This increase is shown in the following table:

	1950	1940	Percentage increase 1940 to 1950
			Percent
Mexicali	63, 830	18, 775	240
Tijuana	59, 117	16, 486	259
C. Juarez	121, 903	48, 881	149
Nogales	24, 692	13, 966	78
Nuevo Laredo	57, 488	28, 872	99
Matamoros	43, 830	15, 699	179

Thus, large reservoirs of potential wetbacks are accumulating at the border. It is difficult for the farm employer in the north of Mexico to get the labor supply he needs without contributing to the wetback traffic. Active seasonal employment in the Mexican areas near the border is about the same as in areas of the United States above the border. Consequently, laborers brought north to work for Mexican farmers discover that work is available at better wages on the other side of the border and they slip over.

This involves an ever-widening and self-accelerating cycle. Mexican farm employers close to the border have to recruit more workers than they need because it can be expected that many of their recruits will be lost to the wetback traffic. By recruiting on this basis, they aggravate the wetback traffic because they get too many workers.

The "Pull" Forces in the United States and Their Relation to the Wetback Traffic

Complementing the northward "push" forces within Mexico has been the expansion in unskilled hand labor requirements in the United States' Southwest. Much new land has been cleared and brought under cultivation in recent years and, at the same time, irrigation has expanded. In the Lower Rio Grande Valley, there were less than 250,000 acres of cotton in 1945, but cotton acreage had expanded to over 600,000 in 1949. Through the expansion of cotton acreage and also greater specialization in fruit and vegetable production, seasonal labor requirements have become more intensive and concentrated in shorter periods of time. Farm employers of the Southwest have encountered difficulty in meeting their short-term seasonal labor requirements from the domestic labor force on the terms offered.

Perhaps of greater importance than expansion in employment opportunities is the increasing attitude of many farm employers near the border that they are entitled to Mexican workers. Although farm employers testified they preferred legal to illegal labor, their position comes to this: If Mexican labor cannot be obtained legally on terms satisfactory to the employers, they will obtain Mexican labor illegally. The manager of the Agricultural Producers Labor Committee said as much in his testimony at Los Angeles:

> If Government red tape and the inability of the two Governments involved prevent us from putting under contract the help we need during the peak harvest seasons, we will use wetbacks, because we are going to harvest our crops. We have wetbacks in our employ today. In fact, one of our association's representatives is in El Centro and Calexico today legalizing wetbacks.

Farm employers near the border repeatedly testified thay had used Mexican labor for years and hence implied they had a peculiar right to get Mexican workers. One of the members of this Commission asked this question of a Texas farm employer spokesman who had submitted a statement which was said to have the approval of several farm organizations:

> I would be interested in learning whether the farm organizations which have approved your statement are recommending this policy of easy entry of Mexican workers so as to provide plentiful and inexpensive labor for farmers throughout the United States, or is there a desire that these Mexican Nationals be encouraged to avoid going more than a few hundred miles from the Mexican border?

The reply to the question was this:

> * * * it is reasonable to assume that the farmers along the border would not object if the movement of Mexican Nationals were limited to a few hundred miles from the border, but I expect that those outside such areas would object. Some special requirements might have to be made for those going beyond strictly border States. I really don't know enough about the need in Northern States to discuss it at this time, but it seems to me that something could be worked out. I think that perhaps the border States need special consideration in this matter because their agricultural economy was largely developed by Mexican labor—a policy that was partly illegal, but yet condoned by our Government officials for many years.

Not to be neglected in considering the "pull" forces of the United States is the encouragement to the wetback traffic that is inherent in the legalization of wetbacks under the Mexican-United States International Agreement. This was described in the previous chapter. As we noted, Mexico has opposed recruitment of contract workers from the interior of the country when large numbers of its nationals were already illegally in the United States. To meet this position on the part of the Mexican Government, we agreed to legalize wetbacks in 1947, 1949, and 1950. In fact, legalization of wetbacks has constituted the bulk of contracting activities since 1947.

For infraction of our immigration laws, some wetbacks have been prosecuted in the courts and sent to prison, but most of those who were apprehended were simply allowed to make a voluntary departure. Others, of no different offense and no less guilt, in numbers sufficient to meet all, or the majority of, legal recruiting needs have been given contracts after a token deportation to Mexico in lieu of a conventional deportation or voluntary departure. Such wetbacks were given identification slips in the United States by the Immigration and Naturalization Service which entitled them, within a few minutes, to step back across the border and become contract workers. There was no way to obtain the indispensable slip of paper except to be found illegally in the United States. Thus violators of law were rewarded by receiving legal contracts while the same opportunities were denied law-abiding citizens of Mexico. The United States, having engaged in a program giving preference in contracting to those who had broken the law, has encouraged violation of the immigration laws. Our Government thus has become a contributor to the growth of an illegal traffic which it has responsibility to prevent.

Pressures and Deals Not To Enforce the Law

We find that there have been times when pressure has been successfully exerted upon Washington to have the Immigration and Naturalization Service issue orders to field officers to go easy on deportations until crops have been harvested. The district director at El Paso testified as follows:

> * * * Over the years, from the time I came on the job as district director in March 1926, nearly every year at cotton-chopping or cotton-picking time, the farmers would send a complaint to the Secretary of Labor—we were in the Labor Department at that time—or to the Commissioner of Immigration, I am certain for no other purpose than to cause an investigation that would result in one of two things: Either I get word from some higher official to go easy until cotton-chopping time was over, or cotton-picking time was over; or the men who were doing the work would be so upset by the investigation that they would go easy on their own.
>
> Now, in 1937, one of those complaints went to Washington, and Commissioner Houghteling sent it to me and said, "I want you to personally investigate this and make a report to me." I did make the investigation and I submitted the report. * * * The Commissioner's answer to the complainants, * * * was in substance this: "I find that our officers are doing their duty and I hope they will continue to do their duty." That was the first time since I went on the job in 1926, that we had ever had any definite statement from any high-ranking official that they were going to stand behind us in our work of keeping "wetbacks" off of the farms, and from that time until about a year after we got in the war, we bored into them more and more, and kept it just as clean as we possibly could. And it was, at that time, a small percentage.

Another Immigration and Naturalization officer explained the source of this pressure upon Washington in these terms:

> This pressure group is truck farmers and ranchers all over the country that have plenty of money, they are able to make a trip to Washington and to apply that pressure. The man that wants to apply it (immigration law) is the little man. He is the man who gets out there and does the work. He is the one that the wetbacks are taking the job away from. He doesn't have money to go to Washington. He can write a letter to his Representative or Congressman. On the other hand, your farmer or rancher goes up there, and he can call him by his first name. So I think that is the reason that the pressure group, even though it is a minority group, is so effective.

Not only did we receive testimony that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was susceptible to political pressure such as the foregoing excerpts indicate, we found instances of deals between Government agencies. The 1949 Idaho State Employment Service Report reads:

> The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service recognizes the need for farm workers in Idaho, and, through cooperation with the State employment service, withholds its search and deportation until such times as there is not a shortage of farm workers.

The immigration officer for the Northwest district explained at our Portland hearing:

> I might state that in 1949 representatives of the Federal Employment Service asked us not to send our inspectors into the field to apprehend "wet" Mexicans, for the purpose of deporting them, until after the emergency of harvesting the crops had been met. In that particular instance, we did not send the officers into the field as early as we would have otherwise.

In Washington, D. C., in October 1950, we questioned the Assistant Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service on enforcement of the immigration law on the Mexican border. Without denying that instructions not to enforce the law had gone out in earlier years, he replied as follows:

> I may say that the pressure here is considerable. I think I can answer your question very briefly by saying, during the past year, there has been no instruction issued to our field offices to refrain in any way from enforcing the law.

Thirty years ago, nonfarm employers disliked the immigration law and wanted it changed. Congress and the Immigration Service both withstood that pressure. The Commissioner of Immigration of that day stated his position to be: "The immigration laws, as they now stand, seem to me to express the thought of the country at large in favor of a high-wage scale, as being an accompaniment, I may say almost a requisite, to better citizenship."

Mechanics of the Wetback Traffic

The hub of the wetback traffic is in the plazas of the Mexican towns and cities immediately below the border. Here, or in sections around the railroad which serve the same purpose, the wetback seeks information about jobs in the United States and how to get them. It is here that he encounters the first of many exploiters he will come to know well before he is once again in his homeland. The principal topic of conversation in the plazas of the Mexican border towns for several months of the year is how to get into the United States and what crops and jobs promise employment once there. His urgent need of food and money makes him an easy mark for the smuggler, the labor contractor, or the agent of the farm employer. He is eager when any of these approach him and whisper that there is a way to get out of the vast mob, all looking for a job and a chance to get into the United States where jobs seem plentiful and wages seem high.

Although smuggling of wetbacks is widespread, the majority of wetbacks apparently enter alone or in small groups without a smuggler's assistance. In a group moving without the aid of a smuggler there usually is one who has made the trip before and who is willing to show the way. Not infrequently the same individual knows the farm to which the group intends to go and sometimes he has made advance arrangements with the farm employer to return at an appointed date with his group. Such wetbacks stream into the United States by the thousands through the deserts near El Paso and Calexico or across the Rio Grande between Rio Grande City and Brownsville. When employment on the farms adjacent to the border is filled, the wetbacks push northward into new areas following rumor or promise of employment.

Often the wetbacks entering alone or in small groups have written to farm employers or friends in the United States and have made arrangements to be met at some cross road, gate, or other well-known place within a night's walk of the border. Some make two or three separate entries within a season, after having been apprehended, and head for the place where they were formerly employed.

If the wetback makes a deal to be guided or escorted across the Rio Grande or some section of the land border, everything he is able to pay is usually extracted in return for the service which may be no more than being guided around the fence or being given a boat ride across the Rio Grande. Wetbacks who are without funds to pay the smuggler for bringing them in or to pay the trucker-contractor who furnishes transportation and direction from the boundary to the farm are frequently "sold" from one exploiter to the next. For example, the smuggler will offer to bring a specified number of wetbacks across the river for such an amount as $10 or $15 per man. The smuggler or boatman with his party in tow will be met by the trucker-contractor who will then "buy" the wetback party by paying off the smuggler. This trucker-contractor, in turn, will have a deal to deliver workers to farm employers at an agreed-upon price per head.

There are other well-known and well-established practices to facilitate and encourage the entrance of wetbacks. They range from spreading news of employment in the plazas and over the radio to the withholding from wages of what is called a "deposit" which is intended to urge, if not guarantee, the return to the same farm as quickly as possible of a wetback employee who may be apprehended and taken back to Mexico.

The term "deposit" requires some explanation. Members of this Commission personally interviewed wetback workers apprehended by immigration officers in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. These workers had been paid for the cotton they had picked during the preceding 2 or

3 weeks. However, their employers had withheld $10 to $15 from their pay. Such sums, we discovered, are known as "deposits." To redeem this deposit, the wetback was required to reenter illegally and to reappear on the farm employer's premises within 10 days.

Once on the United States side of the border and on the farm, numerous devices are employed to keep the wetback on the job. Basic to all these devices is the fact that the wetback is a person of legal disability who is under jeopardy of immediate deportation if caught. He is told that if he leaves the farm, he will be reported to the Immigration Service or that, equally unfortunate to him, the Immigration Service will surely find him if he ventures into town or out onto the roads. To assure that he will stay until his services are no longer needed, his pay, or some portion thereof, frequently is held back. Sometimes, he is deliberately kept indebted to the farmer's store or commissary until the end of the season, at which time he may be given enough to buy shoes or clothing and encouraged to return the following season.

When the work is done, neither the farmer nor the community wants the wetback around. The number of apprehensions and deportations tends to rise very rapidly at the close of a seasonal work period. This can be interpreted not alone to mean that the immigration officer suddenly goes about his work with renewed zeal and vigor, but rather that at this time of the year "cooperation" in law enforcement by farm employers and townspeople rapidly undergoes considerable improvement.

Consequences of the Wetback Traffic: Wages

The wetback is a hungry human being. His need of food and clothing is immediate ~~and pressing~~. He is a fugitive and it is as a fugitive that he lives. Under the constant threat of apprehension and deportation, he cannot protest or appeal no matter how unjustly he is treated. Law operates against him but not for him. Those who capitalize on the legal disability of the wetbacks are numerous and their devices are many and various.

Wage rates reflect graphically and dramatically the impact and consequences of the wetback traffic. In 1947, when daily wages for chopping cotton (thinning the rows of cotton plants) in the Lower Rio Grande Valley were $2.25 (10 hours), wages were continuously higher at points northward from the border: in the Sandy Lands of Texas, $3; in the Corpus Christi and Coast Prairie Areas, $4; in the Rolling Plains, $5; in the High Plains, $5.25.

When the Commission held hearings in Texas in August 1950, wage rates for picking short staple cotton in the Lower Rio Grande Valley were reported as low as 50 cents per hundredweight and as high as $1.75 per hundredweight. From the evidence presented, we conclude that the bulk of the cotton in this area was picked in 1950 for approximately $1.25 per hundredweight. Comparative wage rates for picking cotton elsewhere in Texas were not obtained in the hearings because no other area had yet commenced its cotton harvest. However, the State-wide average 1950 rate for Texas is now reported officially by the United States Department of Agriculture to have been $2.45 per hundredweight. Thus, the Lower Rio Grande Valley cotton growers got their cotton picked for approximately one-half the wages paid by the average cotton grower of Texas.

Wages for common hand labor in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, according to the testimony, were as low as 15 to 25 cents per hour. To the north and the west through El Paso Valley, we found a marked tendency for wages for similar work to rise. In southern New Mexico, the prevailing wages for the same type of work were reported to be 40 to 50 cents per hour. Thus, New Mexico was paying twice as much to get its hand labor work done as was being paid in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

Further west in Arizona, wages are still better. In 1950, the State-wide average for picking of short staple cotton in Arizona was officially reported to be $3.10 per hundredweight. Cotton chopping and common farm labor wages were reported, in August 1950, to be $4 to $7 per 10-hour day.

The fact that wages in areas near the border tend to rise to the westward conforms to the general pattern in which State-wide average farm wages also rise to the westward. This is evident in the State average wages for all farm work as reported by the United States Department of Agriculture, which for 1950 were:

	Cents per hour
Texas	54
New Mexico	54
Arizona	64
California	88

Notwithstanding the strong and clear tendency for wages to rise as one moves westward, with California the highest of the group, we found wages in the Imperial Valley on the Mexican border to represent a complete reversal of this pattern. The going wage rate for common and hand labor in the Imperial Valley was 50 cents per hour. Thus Imperial Valley farm employers pay no more to get their farm work done than do farm employers in southern New Mexico, and probably less than do Arizona farm employers. Direct comparisons in wages paid in cotton cannot be made since Imperial Valley has no cotton, but the comparison in terms of wages paid to hand labor for other types of work leads to this conclusion.

It is thus clear that the Imperial Valley, with its large wetback traffic, represents a substantial contradiction to an otherwise consistent general tendency for farm wages to improve toward the West. The force of the

Imperial Valley wetback traffic is strong enough to upset this well-established East-West wage pattern; at the same time, it is strong enough to institute in one of the high farm wage States of the Nation, the same type of wage differential that is found on the Texas border. While common farm labor wages in 1950 in the Imperial Valley were 50 cents per hour, the going rate in the San Joaquin Valley was 85 cents per hour.

That the wetback traffic has severely depressed farm wages is unquestionable. We further inquired if the wetback, as an individual among others doing similar work, was paid a discriminatory, low wage. The testimony on this point was conflicting. In some cases, it was said that the wetback was paid the same rate as everyone else; in other cases, it was claimed that the wetback was paid less. Apparently, the answer to this question is determined by the proportion which wetbacks are of the local labor force. In the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the wetback proportion is so high that the wages paid them largely determine the wages paid to everyone there. The wetback wage tends to become the prevailing wage. In comparison, the wetback appears to be proportionally less important in the Imperial Valley and, accordingly, there is a chance for discrimination to occur. This is reflected by the testimony of a Deputy Labor Commissioner of California:

> The Mexican wetbacks work for 40 cents an hour and a few of them work for between 25 and 30 cents an hour. In many of our complaints the employer will bring in records showing that the wetbacks didn't work the number of hours claimed, and I would say that, in the majority of cases, they finally settled for anywhere from 25 percent to 75 percent of the original claim, which gives the farmer an opportunity to make a little additional saving in his labor bill by just cutting it down.

Consequences of the Wetback Traffic: Labor Competition and Displacement

South Texas with its large Spanish-American and Mexican-American population has long been a home base or winter quarters for migratory agricultural workers who in the summer season move northward principally into the Rocky Mountain States or the Great Lakes States. These people are citizens, some of two or three generations in the Southwest. Out of Texas, they are commonly referred to as Texas-Mexicans. Parallel with the increase in the wetback traffic, the number of Texas-Mexican residents entering the migratory labor stream has greatly increased. An authority on Mexican-American affairs explained this phenomenon to the Commission in the following words:

> The free and easy dipping into the cheap-labor reservoir that is Mexico, has made it virtually impossible for the citizens of Mexican descent in this area to make a satisfactory living. They are pushed farther north by the competition of 15 and 20 cents an hour labor, and as they move north they complicate the economic-social situation all up the line. . . .

> We have detailed statistics on the migration of the residents of Hidalgo County, in the period of two years, * * *. Of 16,000 persons included in the survey, 8,000 migrated from Hidalgo County. Those 8,000 migrants went to every single State in the United States in that migration during that period. They went out to do, primarily, agricultural labor, stoop labor, that they were prohibited from doing in their home county because of the competition of contraband labor that can be employed at 15, 20, and 25 cents an hour.

Nelson and Meyers, of the University of Texas, commenting on the same subject report that:

> The living standards which Mexican nationals are willing to tolerate, and the fact that so many of them are only temporary residents, have made it unnecessary for Valley farmers to provide housing, sanitary facilities, and other non-wage prerequisites adequate to retain a permanent resident farm population familiar with or educated to normal American standards. These two factors—low wages and poor living conditions—undoubtedly provide the incentive to movement from the Valley, about which so many Valley farmers complain, and upon which they rely in their argument for the necessity of continued unrestricted entry of Mexican nationals.

In contrast to the observations of objective investigators and the experience of workers who earlier had made their livelihood in south Texas, Texas farm employers repeatedly told the Commission that their local resident labor supply had become unreliable and was no longer willing to do hard hand work in the fields. Most farm employers testified that the problem was not one of wages—that domestic labor could not be induced to work at any price. However, one farm employer spokesman from the Lower Rio Grande Valley testified that the wage rate was a factor in the availability of local labor, for he said:

> Q. You say that a citizen worker doesn't want to go out on a farm. In Illinois they work on the farm and it is stoop labor too.
>
> A. That is because they have a higher wage.
>
> Q. You think they will work on farms but they won't work for 40 cents? Is that it?
>
> A. That is right, I think we could get them to work for 75 cents.

The displaced Texas-Mexican, who has come to be considered unreliable by farm employers in his home territory, is well regarded and welcomed elsewhere. Note the testimony of a cotton grower in Arizona:

> Q. You spoke mainly of Mexican workers and others? What is the race of the other workers that you employ?
>
> A. They are Mexicans. They are good Mexicans. Since the Cotton Growers Association went into a recruiting program here a couple of years ago, * * * they had never been around before, just been around I think it was Houston or San Antonio, and they are very good Mexicans. They send their money home and save their money. We have no trouble.

Q. Are those American citizens?

A. Yes, all American citizens.

Let the testimony of a Texas-Mexican worker who came to our hearing at Phoenix, Ariz., speak for itself:

Q. Where is your home in Texas?

A. Weslaco, Tex. (Lower Rio Grande Valley.)

Q. Why don't you stay down around Weslaco and work down there?

A. Well, I don't stay there because I can't make any money over there in that town.

Q. What is the reason you can't make any money there?

A. Well, because there is a lot of laborers in that town and they can't get any work. This year they promised us to pay 75 cents an hour. You can go anywhere to look for a job and you can't find any job. * * *

Q. Who promised you 75 cents?

A. Well, on the radio, I listen to the radio, and they took all the Nationals back to Mexico and so want to raise the price for us, but I and my brothers, my two brothers, was looking for a job all the way around the town and they couldn't find any, and myself started to work about 20 days after I got there, and I got started to get some people to get ready to come to Montana with me.

Q. I wanted to ask Mr. F—— about these Mexican Nationals in Texas. You say that you couldn't make any money there and wages were too low, there weren't any jobs because there was an abundance of other workers?

A. Yes.

Q. Were those other workers Mexican Nationals that came across the river?

A. Yes, sir; they crossed the river, and they worked for 3 or 4 days, dollar a day, two dollars and a half, and that is the reason we can't get jobs.

Q. You mean they paid them two dollars or two and a half?

A. Two and a half or three dollars.

Q. For how many hours?

A. Ten hours.

Q. They are getting about 25 cents an hour?

A. Yes.

Q. You spoke about the Mexican Nationals. Do you happen to know whether those are wetback Mexicans, or were those contract Mexicans that were brought in under the Government program? Which of those two was it that took most of the work around Weslaco?

A. Well, it is Mexicans that is from Mexico. They just crossed the river, and that is the reason they got a lot of laborers there in that town, and they don't get any jobs for us on farm labor.

Labor competition and displacement by the wetback is not limited to farm work. Labor union representatives of several crafts testified that wetback workers were being widely employed in many nonfarm occupations. Immigration officers have apprehended wetback Mexicans engaged in nonagricultural occupations in many States.

The representative of the Operating Engineers Union testified that, around the Brownsville area, it was universal practice for construction contractors to employ illegal alien labor. Wetback labor is also penetrating into the highly skilled trades according to the testimony of the Iron Workers Union:

> We have been having here * * * a number of cases of I guess they call them the "wetbacks", migratory labor, taking over, I'll say a very high craftman's job, which is the iron worker of construction work. . . .
>
> I will say it makes it awfully hard on my organization, men that have spent their time in their apprenticeship and serving their time to do their work, of which we have spent so much time in negotiating agreements and making working conditions for our members, and to have our working conditions broken down in this manner of using "wetback" labor.

Border State Farm Employers Who Do Not Get Wetbacks Protest Discrimination

The intensity of the wetback traffic is not uniform along the border. Most intense in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, it lessens to the north and the west of Texas. The traffic is much more intense in the Imperial Valley than in Arizona or New Mexico. Of all the States offering the kind of employment in which wetbacks are found, Arizona evidently has the least wetback traffic. This unequal access to wetback labor causes resentment, as is well expressed in the testimony of the manager of the Arizona Cooperative Cotton Growers' Association:

> Our farmers for several years have had a continuous and loud complaint that their friends and acquaintances in other bordering States have a comparatively large supply of wetback labor, while in Arizona the border patrol very successfully and carefully enforces the law against illegal aliens on the ranches. We have never tried to exert pressure to have this enforcement relieved, but we do want to call the attention of high figures (officials) to the fact that the other States should be treated alike; that if enforcement is being relaxed in other States, it should be relaxed in Arizona; that if enforcement is going to be strict in Arizona, we want it strict in other States.

Death and Disease

In the areas of wetback traffic, death and disease assume far more the characteristics of Mexico than of the United States. The foundations of these phenomena unquestionably predate the last few years in which the wetback traffic has achieved its present proportions. Consequently, the problems of death and disease cannot be exclusively attributed to the wetback traffic. Public health, sanitation, death, and disease in the border counties have long demanded attention. The wetback traffic inescapably postpones effective remedial measures and aggravates these problems. The wetback undergoes no health or physical examination as he illicitly enters the United States. The bringing in of disease and contagion cannot, therefore, be avoided. Moreover, while he is here as an illegal alien, the wetback will not ordinarily risk the chance of apprehension by seeking medical or health assistance. Reciprocally, the health and medical service agencies that might otherwise be ready to provide assistance for residents will ordinarily be foreclosed to the wetback, even if he were to seek aid, because of residence ineligibility. This circumstance does not arise with legal foreigners for whom provision is made.

One of the most sensitive indicators of the state of public health in any population is the rate of infant mortality. This is defined as the number of deaths under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births. For the United States at large, this rate in 1948 was 32. The state-wide average for Texas was 46.2; for the 28 counties of Texas on or immediately adjacent to the border, the average rate was 79.5. In the three counties commonly regarded as constituting the Lower Rio Grande Valley, the infant mortality rates were as follows:

Cameron	82. 5
Hidalgo	107. 2
Willacy	127. 6

The only other counties in Texas with infant mortality rates higher than the lowest of the above are Brewster (86.4); Dimmit (93.0); Maverick (83.1); and Reeves (96.3). All of these counties are on the Mexican border or immediately adjacent except Reeves which is in Pecos Valley, lying in the narrow strip of Texas between Mexico and New Mexico.

New Mexico and Arizona both have high rates of infant mortality, 70.1 and 56.4, respectively, but the infant death problem in these areas is associated with large Indian populations rather than with Mexican-American people or with wetback traffic. In California, the state-wide infant mortality rate is 28.6 but the rate of 56.2 for the Imperial Valley is almost double.

Dysentery, diarrhea, and enteritis loom disproportionately large in the picture of infant deaths. These are the diseases of filth and insanitation. In California, the state-wide average infant death rate from diarrhea, enteritis, and dysentery is 1.8; for Imperial County, it is 12.9. In both Texas and California an overwhelming proportion of infant deaths from these causes is known to be in families of Mexican origin.

Disproportionate rates of death and disease are not confined to children alone. Reported diseases for the entire population in the areas of wetback traffic in Texas are unfavorably high as may be noted in the following comparison where the extent of those diseases listed is shown as a rate per 100 thousand population:

Disease	Texas—State-wide average	Texas—28 border counties
Tuberculosis	76. 4	122. 9
Dysentery	312. 0	1, 554. 1
Syphilis	199. 8	332. 3
Malaria	37. 4	126. 1
Typhoid	3. 7	6. 5

Housing

A wetback is in no position when offered work to ask whether there is satisfactory housing or indeed whether there is any housing at all. Members of this Commission personally inspected wetback camps in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, in the El Paso Valley, and in the Imperial Valley. Where the wetback makes up the major proportion of the seasonal and migratory work force, virtually no housing, sanitary facilities, or other conditions of civilized living are supplied. Where the wetback concentration is proportionately less, housing conditions tend to improve but even so, remain far below the level of decency. A witness testifying at Brownsville did not overstate the squalor of the housing and living conditions that are much too common in the Lower Rio Grande Valley when he said, "I have seen, with my own eyes, people living in these shacks and sheds, getting their water to use, drink, and cook with, out of irrigation ditches, no type of sanitary facilities, bathing or toilet facilities of any kind within sight; living in shacks that I wouldn't put a horse in."

Speaking of the Imperial Valley, a Deputy Labor Commissioner of the State of California told us:

> The plight of the wetbacks I consider very serious there because the majority of them live on the ditch banks or in shed housing which is very, very poor. I would say that this is true mostly with the small farmers rather than the large growers as most of the large growers have facilities, but the small growers or the small operators get them to live on the ditch banks or a chicken house. I have seen lots cleaner and better chicken houses for chickens than I have seen for human beings in the Imperial Valley.

Problems Encountered in Enforcing Immigration Law

The problem of immigration-law enforcement includes the Mexican national who secures employment and wages through unlawful entry, the smuggler who gains from conspiring in the unlawful entry, the farm employer who gains from the employment of the illegal alien at low wages, and finally the governments of both countries. In illegally crossing the border, the wetback violates the laws of Mexico just as much as he does those of the United States. If Mexican farm workers are to be permitted temporary legal employment in the United States, one of the urgent problems faced by both governments is to devise a legal farm-labor program that will be a decent and orderly substitute for the wetback traffic and not a means of accelerating it. Beyond this first obvious step, which must be principally a matter of intergovernmental negotiation, the problems involved in taking affirmative measures against the respective participating parties require appropriate action by the United States.

When legal action is taken against the wetback, which is done only in very few cases and principally with repeated violators, there is little difficulty of prosecution and conviction. Here the problem is that great numbers make it impossible to proceed against each individual. While there is little difficulty of convicting the wetback, similar actions against those who assist illegal entry are not equally successful. Given the climate of local opinion in the areas of wetback traffic, it is extremely difficult and frequently impossible to prosecute and convict those who conspire to violate the immigration law. Here, as far as the smuggler is concerned, the problem is the enforcement of national law in an area which is unsympathetic to that law. The law against the introduction of excluded aliens is adequate; the problem is enforcement. Against those who harbor and conceal an illegal alien, the law is not adequate. The Supreme Court (*U. S.* v. *Evans,* 333 U. S. 483, Mar. 15, 1948) held that, because of lack of a penalty in the statute, the Immigration Act does not make it a punishable offense to conceal or harbor aliens not entitled to enter the United States. New legislation is needed which will penalize the acts of transporting, harboring, and concealing of illegal aliens.

Another obstacle in immigration law enforcement is the limited right of immigration officers to enter private property to search for illegal aliens. Many farm employers contest this and some have used arms and threats of bodily harm to resist inspection. Farm employers' objection to inspection of farm properties in search of illegal aliens was reported to us by the president of the New Mexico Farm and Livestock Bureau as follows:

> Another point that we would like to bring out is that farmers in New Mexico do not like the system now being used by the Immigration and

> Naturalization Service under which immigration officers overrun our farms indiscriminately, and fly their planes at housetop level over our farms and homes looking for illegal Mexican workers. It may or may not be legal, but it is not democratic procedure. It is a violation of the rights of citizens and private property. No farmer, nor any decent citizen, approves of such tactics, and there is nothing the farmer would like better than to cooperate with Federal agencies in enforcing a legal system of obtaining alien labor.

The authority is clear for an immigration officer to enter private property if he has a warrant; without a warrant he may enter if a deportable alien is known to be on the property who is likely to escape. The authority is not clear, however, for immigration officers to enter upon farms, ranches, or other enclosed lands to inspect or search for illegal aliens.

It must be noted that farms employing workers in significant numbers are places of employment and therefore affected with a public interest. Should they not be open to inspection for the enforcement of law? Under safety and accident prevention laws, it was long ago acknowledged that factory inspectors had the right to enter places of employment. Likewise, Government officials inspect places of employment to administer child labor, minimum wage, maximum hours, sanitation and other laws. The farmer's home, whether on his farm or elsewhere, is a different thing from the farm property on which employment occurs. Perhaps it is time we modernize our concept of the farm employing several workers, recognizing it (apart from the farmer's home) as not a personal castle but rather a place of employment affected with a public interest and on which inspections may be made in the enforcement of law.

Statutory clarification on the above points will aid in taking action against the conveyors and receivers of the wetback. These clarifications of the statute, together with increased funds and personnel for enforcement, are possibly all that are needed to deal effectively with the smuggler and the intermediary. But this will not be enough. Something more needs to be done to discourage the employment of wetbacks and to take the profit out of it. It was repeatedly suggested to the Commission that it recommend making the employment of a wetback a crime. This suggestion has merit since, if the risk involved in employing wetbacks were increased, the traffic would soon diminish. In addition to making employment of an illegal alien unlawful, much would be accomplished by taking the profit out of such employment. It seems likely that if farm employers had to maintain a decent standard of minimum wages, irrespective of the nationality of the worker to whom the wages are paid, the advantages of wetback employment would disappear.

The attack on the problem will have to be manifold. The wetback traffic has reached such proportions in volume and in consequent chaos, it should not be neglected any longer. The techniques to be employed may be of various types but we believe the basic approaches are encompassed in our recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) The Immigration and Naturalization Service be strengthened by (a) clear statutory authority to enter places of employment to determine if illegal aliens are employed, (b) clear statutory penalties for harboring, concealing, or transporting illegal aliens, and (c) increased appropriations for personnel and equipment.

(2) Legislation be enacted making it unlawful to employ aliens illegally in the United States, the sanctions to be: (a) removal by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of all legally imported labor from any place of employment on which any illegal alien is found employed; (b) fine and imprisonment; (c) restraining orders and injunctions; and (d) prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of any product on which illegal alien labor has worked.

(3) Legalization for employment purposes of aliens illegally in the United States be discontinued and forbidden. This is not intended to interfere with handling of hardship cases as authorized by present immigration laws.

(4) The Department of State seek the active cooperation of the Government of Mexico in a program for eliminating the illegal migration of Mexican workers into the United States, by (a) the strict enforcement of the Mexican emigration laws, (b) preventing the concentration, in areas close to the border, of surplus supplies of Mexican labor, and (c) refraining from attempts to obtain legalization for employment in the United States of Mexican workers illegally in this country.

Chapter 5

How Migratory Workers Find Employment

Usually, a chapter on how men get work and how employers get labor would be titled something like: "Bringing Men and Jobs Together." We do not use such a title because with migratory farm labor it would falsely imply the existence of jobs as they are commonly known. Employers of migratory farm labor have much employment to offer, but in filling that employment, workers typically render only a labor service without ever acquiring the rights and privileges that commonly attach to a job or the stability that is normally characteristic of the employer and employee relationship.

The migratory farm worker seldom speaks of the work he does as a "job." He does not say, " I had a job for Mr. Brown," or even, "I picked potatoes for Mr. Brown." Rather he says, "I worked in potatoes." A migratory farm worker in California when asked what he did replied, "Well, cotton, peaches, apricots, and onions."

This distinction was vividly, though unintentionally, implied by another farm worker from California who had previously done nonfarm work, but more recently had been employed in seasonal crop work. When asked, "What type of work have you done in Bakersfield?" he replied, "My first job was a janitor at Pacific Fruit Express." A moment later when asked what type of agricultural work he was currently doing the same worker replied: "In the beginning of the spring we usually start in peas * * * following the pea harvest are the potatoes."

Although the questions were parallel, the answers were very different. In his work as janitor, this worker identified his employment as a job and he also was conscious of the name of his employer. In his agricultural work, he identified the product on which he worked, but he did not identify an employer nor did he call it a job.

To the migrants, the employer is, for all practical purposes, cotton, peas, beans, carrots, or peaches; to the employers, the workers usually have no individuality but are grouped as Mexicans, Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Texas-Mexicans, or Okies. The separation between migratory farm workers and their employers is at once geographic, psychological, social, and cultural. As a result of this separation, migratory farm labor is a field in which millions of man-days of labor are performed without the employer or the worker having a personal or individual identification one to the other. It is not surprising that this produces a situation in which an intermediary can interpose himself between the employer and the worker and satisfy an unmet need of each. The needs of employers and of workers for the services of such a middleman arise out of their respective situations in the disorderly labor market:

(1) The enterprises employing the bulk of migratory farm workers are too large and employment is too brief to permit the development of a personal relationship between employer and migratory laborer. Yet, with minor exceptions, these enterprises have not installed modern personnel and employment practices. In consequence, most employers of migratory labor have neither the basis of personal acquaintance nor the basis of a well-run personnel office on which to procure workers. For an enterprise which must recruit a new seasonal labor supply each year and probably more than one, this is to be ill-equipped for the task at hand. The crew leader or labor contractor is therefore useful in helping the employer to get a labor supply.

(2) Few migratory workers are able to establish firm reemployment rights based on services in prior seasons. Each time the typical migratory farm worker gets employment, it is a "new" employment. In consequence, the migratory farm worker must compete for available employment irrespective of how many workers there are or how recently some have arrived on the scene. The worker who turns to a crew leader or labor contractor hopes thereby to gain an advantage of considerable value to him when there are too many workers and jobs are scarce or are far away. Moreover, transportation and housing are almost always problems confronting the migratory worker. Consequently, a labor contractor or crew leader who supplies these or assists in arranging them has further attractions for the worker.

Employment Middlemen: The Crew Leader and the Labor Contractor

The middleman system develops naturally in the kind of employment environment above described. It is common practice that one from among a group of laborers, who has the language ability or other particular talent for doing so, "hustles up" work for the group and thus eventually becomes a leader. When his leadership has been established, he becomes a "crew leader" with a crew of perhaps 30 workers. He expands his services by providing urgently needed transportation and may also supply food, shelter, and other services as well. Such an individual may have assumed leadership merely as an act of friendship to his group of fellow workers, but as his operations and responsibilities expand, he levies a charge for services.

In a parallel way, the employer finds it more convenient to deal with the crew leader than to deal with individual workers. It is the crew leader who comes to be substituted in the mind of the employer for what might be the migratory employees. In the next stage of this development, the employer discovers that instead of supervising and paying each of the workers separately, his management responsibilities would be simplified if he were to contract the job out to the crew leader and have him supervise and pay the workers. If he makes such an arrangement, the crew leader emerges as a labor contractor, though he may continue to call himself a crew leader, as is common along the Atlantic coast. On the Pacific coast, such employment brokers are usually called "labor contractors."

The labor contractor system has become thoroughly entrenched in many of the major areas employing migratory labor. In California, the testimony of several farm workers indicated they had found it impossible to get employment directly from the farmer. Rather, they were referred to the labor contractor who had control of the farmer's employment. The environment which affords the opportunity to perform services for both the worker and the employer also provides the opportunity to abuse relations with both.

Practices of Labor Contractors and Crew Leaders

The labor contractor system is essentially a means by which the employer of migratory farm workers avoids the responsibilities of obtaining and managing his labor. It is a system in which abuses may flourish and because of the multiple functions the contractor performs, the abuses take many forms. To the extent that a crew leader or labor contractor recruits labor, he is an employment agent. In this activity are to be found the well-known malpractices of private employment agencies, such as misrepresentation of work opportunities, the charging of excessive fees, and sending workers to places where there are no jobs. These abuses have led many States to license and regulate private employment agencies, but the laws are rarely applied to the recruiters of migratory farm labor.

For his services as an employment intermediary, whether as a supplier or as a supervisor of employment, the contractor or crew leader may extract a heavy financial toll. At the minimum, the crew leader may get no compensation beyond that which he earns as a working member of the crew plus the "help on the gas" which members of his crew contribute for transportation. Commonly, the crew leader, in return for bringing a crew to the farmer, will be given the contract to haul vegetables or fruit from the field or for weighing and hauling cotton to the gin. In such instances, the only compensation the crew leader gets is the earnings from his trucking. At the maximum, the crew leader may receive a fixed amount for performing a stipulated task. Out of this amount, he pays his workers. The net return to this type crew leader (or labor contractor) depends on the difference between what he receives and what he pays the workers.

The practices and rates for compensating crew leaders and labor contractors are so variable and diverse as to defy convenient classification. In some instances, the farmer pays for the middleman's services which are rendered on his behalf, but all too often the worker pays most of the costs, regardless of whether the services are useful to him or whether the intermediary is only parasitic.

We received testimony that charges as high as $1 a day of employment were made by contractors for supplying workers. For job supervision, we were told by one contractor that his normal "take" was 12 percent of the payroll. Regardless of the system of payment, the costs to the worker and to the employer for recruiting and contracting are undoubtedly high, but it is in the field of supplementary services supplied to the worker that the most serious evils develop. Some of these were frankly described for us at our Los Angeles hearing by a licensed labor contractor who testified that such practices were common among contractors. Examples of the practices cited by this witness were the following:

> Q. Do you know what prices these [contractors'] commissaries charge, whether it is reasonable with what the merchants would charge in the village?
>
> A. It invariably is unreasonable * * * they charge a man $2 [or] $2.25 a day for room and board. * * * That board is really something terrible. I mean they really rob them. . . .
>
> [The labor contractor] is in a position to sway the general equilibrium of honesty in any direction he wants * * *. There are many contractors and solicitors who have camps. * * * They supply the food, the women, the narcotics—of which there is a heavy traffic within these camps—and beer and wine and everything else, so they subsequently end up with a large proportion of the payroll.

State Legislation to Regulate Labor Contractors

Three States—California, Oregon, and Texas—make an effort to regulate the activities of farm-labor contractors. While the employment-agency laws of a number of other States might be construed to apply technically in the farm-labor field, the fact is that they have not been so interpreted. For example, the Virginia law covers "any person who solicits, hires, or contracts with laborers, male or female, to be employed by persons other than himself," but so far as is known, the definition has not been applied to the agent dealing with agricultural laborers within the State.

The California and Oregon laws regulating labor contractors, which are closely similar, are applied to farm-labor although they do not specifically mention it. However, in California, most of the labor contractors in the State have managed to operate without licenses.

Recently, the Governor's Committee to Survey the Agricultural Labor Resources of the San Joaquin Valley (California) submitted a set of detailed recommendations which, if enacted into law, will go a long way toward effective and practical regulation of labor contractors' activities. These recommendations go beyond licensing persons who act as agents to supply labor. The term "labor contractor" is defined to include any individual "who hires workers in behalf of an employer or who, for a fee, provides in connection therewith one or more of the following services: Furnishes board, lodging, or transportation to such workers; supervises, times, checks, counts, weighs, or otherwise directs or measures their work; or disburses wage payments to such workers."

Having thus defined the labor contractor in terms of his variety of functions, the recommended legislation provides for bonds commensurate with the size of the payroll the contractor handles. In addition, various rules and regulations are proposed to remove the abuses of the contractor system, and to provide for effective enforcement.

The proposed California amendments contain many provisions which might be included in legislation to protect not only migratory laborers but farm employers and the public as well. We are therefore recommending that all States where migratory workers are employed under the labor contract system adopt similar legislation, and that the Federal Government enact a law along these lines to license and control interstate activities of labor contractors.

It must be pointed out, however, that the proposed amendments to the California law, in common with the laws of most other States, fail to cover numerous employment middlemen of the crew leader type who do not receive a fee in the usual sense of the word. It is easy for crew leaders to avoid the appearance of charging fees for their services. The crews may merely "help on the gas" for transportation, or pay for camp lodgings or goods bought in commissaries, while the charges to employers may be for hauling or weighing or for supervision where the crew leader is not himself the employer.

The Commission heard testimony that crew leaders definitely do not come under the Florida employment agency law which is limited to persons or agencies operating "for hire or profit." Even when the law specifically covers farm labor contractors, whether or not they receive a fee, as in Texas, it appears that crew leaders may go unregulated by operating through State employment services which are themselves exempt. In fact, the Texas State Employment Service, as an example, depends heavily upon unlicensed crew leaders to facilitate supplying farm labor.

There are various other circumstances which tend to place farm employment middlemen, at the various levels, outside the scope of State employment agency laws. Well-established labor contractors may not have to engage actively in recruitment because workers voluntarily come to them seeking employment, and in many instances the public employment services refer migratory laborers to them. Many crew leaders make the procurement of labor incidental to their other operations, yet most State employment agency laws apply only to those who are in the business of labor procurement on a regular basis and at a fixed address.

A special form of State regulation of private recruiting is the so-called "emigrant agent laws" which are particularly characteristic of the Southern States. These laws are designed principally to protect employers against having workers removed from the State rather than to protect the laborers against abuses of labor agents and contractors. Five States have special statutes of this kind; four have single laws covering both emigrant agents and ordinary employment agencies; three others merely prescribe special license fees for emigrant agents in their tax laws. Alabama has the most restrictive of the emigrant agent laws. It requires the emigrant agent to pay an annual fee of $5,000 for each county in which he operates, and also a similar fee for each county through which he or his representative accompanies workers to the State line. Texas also is among those States which, through imposition of special license fees on emigrant agents, endeavors to restrain soliciting for out-of-State employment.

Transportation

Although migratory farm workers travel long distances to get employment, very few of them use the bus or train as a means of transportation. In the ordinary sense of the word, they do not travel; most of them are hauled. And the mode of hauling is usually the truck supplied by employers, by labor contractors, or by crew leaders.

Not infrequently, the labor contractor establishes control over transportation by requiring workers to ride on his truck, even if they have transportation of their own. Indefinite arrangements about charges to be made often place the workers at the mercy of the contractor for return transportation. It is not unusual for the contractor to add to the charges originally agreed upon and to deduct greater amounts from wages when settlement is made.

Whether supplied by contractors or employers, the trucks used to carry migratory workers too frequently are old and dilapidated and generally unfit for carrying people. There have been many accidents to trucks loaded with migratory workers which would not have happened had the driver not been exhausted from continuous driving or had the truck been in proper mechanical repair. In many cases no rest stops are made even though the trip requires 36 hours or more. One reason why trucks carrying workers come straight through from points of origin to points of destination is that there are no accommodations for rest stops en route. A survey of migratory farm labor in Indiana reveals that the most frequent suggestion of workers from Texas was the need for "rest camps along the route of migration at which they might stop to clean up, rest, and cook."

Much of the transportation of farm workers involves crossing State lines. But since it is mostly by private carrier, it is not subject to the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The latter regulates interstate transportation only when it is conducted by rail or common and contract motor carrier. As a result, the large traffic in migratory workers and their families is presently beyond the scope of public control, except as it is imposed by State vehicular and traffic laws.

Transportation of domestic migratory workers is in sharp contrast to the conditions under which Mexican nationals are transported in the United States. The Mexican worker's contract provides for transportation by common carrier or in approved equipment. Conditions which must be met if the vehicle is not a common carrier include: insurance to protect the workers against injury en route; a vehicle with fixed seats to accommodate each worker and with covering against inclement weather; hours of travel limited to 12 per day, not to commence before 4 a. m. and not to continue after 8 p. m.; 10-minute rest stops every 2 hours with half-hour rest stops for meals; provision of overnight rest accommodation; and an experienced, licensed driver who agrees to observe the safety regulations of common carriers.

Work-Seeking and Direct Employer Recruitment

Many migratory workers try to find their own employment. In current jargon, such workers are called "free-wheelers," "self-starters," or "self-recruiters." It is estimated that perhaps as much as 40 percent of the migratory farm labor force in American agriculture belongs to this category. In some States which are major employers of migratory farm labor, the proportion of workers seeking jobs individually is estimated to be as high as 60 percent, in others as low as 10 percent. Many move into seasonal work areas without prior arrangement except the vague and tenuous promises contained in the publicity of farm-employers associations or in the general information issued by the public employment services. The majority of those seeking their own employment undoubtedly do so on the basis of chance, or, at the best, on the hope of reemployment on the basis of prior service.

Similarly, many employers of migratory labor procure their labor individually, either by doing nothing at all and passively expecting the labor to come, or by recruiting. Such employers often wait until the last minute and then, if the labor does not appear, they may turn in great anxiety to the public employment service or to a labor contractor, or private recruiter.

The inadequacies of haphazard work-seeking by individual migratory workers and family groups and the labor waste and loss of time involved are obvious. So also are the inadequacies of haphazard recruitment by individual employers. Strange as it may seem, farm employers made little systematic effort until recent years to organize for the purpose of orderly recruiting of migratory workers. About 50 years ago beet sugar companies began to recruit workers for their growers, but until World War II there were practically no organizations or associations of farmers which concerned themselves with recruiting seasonal and migratory workers for their members. Farmers depend on workers coming to their farms in response to newspaper stories advertising their needs, or on private labor agencies, and on such assistance as the Federal and State employment services can give them.

As a representative of a larger employer association told us at our Saginaw hearing:

> The necessity for doing something about this [problem of labor supply] occurred early when Selective Service first came into the picture before the last war, and growers suddenly * * * took action on a thing they had long known—that there was a waste of manpower and a waste of money and a waste of time on the part of the workers through duplicating labor supplies. The sugar beet industry annually went to their sources of supply and got the labor. At the same time, a crop which immediately followed sugar beets was making its plans independently for labor. During the years of labor plenty, from the point of view at least of the employers, that was not very serious. When labor began to get scarce and the cost of obtaining them rose, these employers, through prodding and guiding on the part of the Extension Service, which then had the responsibility for farm labor, formed this corporation.

The farm labor program launched by the United States Government during the war stimulated the organization of farm-labor users' associations, especially that part of the program which involved importation of alien contract labor. Individual farm employers found it necessary to join together to simplify administrative arrangements for employing foreign workers and also to make it possible to meet the minimum employment guarantee which the contracts of foreign workers required. Although organized primarily to handle foreign labor, these associations were found also to be advantageous in the recruitment and employment of domestic migrants.

Although many of the wartime farm labor associations were disbanded at the close of the war emergency, a number were retained. Moreover, many new ones on the same general pattern have been organized or, in lieu of a new organization, existing organizations designed for other purposes have taken on the labor recruitment function.

By establishing controlled and supervised labor reservoirs, these employers' labor associations provide a method by which their members are reasonably assured of labor supplies and by which workers may get more continuous work in a series of employments that are characteristically intermittent and are of short-term duration. It is also a way of eliminating the abuses that are inherent in the system of crew leaders, labor contractors, and other private recruiting agents.

Many of these associations have hired managers and field men to supervise employment. If these grower and processor labor associations continue to grow and to develop, the middleman traffic in migratory farm labor is likely to diminish. Likewise, disorderly work-seeking and labor recruiting may also decline. Moreover, these group approaches to recruitment and hiring represent an opportunity for promoting better standards of employment for seasonal farm laborers and improved employer-employee relations.

Recruitment and Placement by Public Employment Agencies

The Government agencies designed to assist farm workers to find employment and to help farm employers to get labor are the Farm Placement Divisions of the United States Employment Service and of the State employment services, which receive financial grants from the United States Government. The Federal service is expected to coordinate the activities of the State services. Transfer of labor from one State to another is supervised by regional offices of the United States Employment Service, the Farm Placement Division of which has the main responsibility for directing and controlling the movement of migratory farm workers across State lines.

The services of the public employment offices are free to workers and employers in all industries. Among the reasons for creating the Nationwide free public employment service were: (1) To eliminate the abuses of fee-charging private employment agencies; and (2) to supplant the haphazard methods of individuals searching for jobs while employers were unable to find workers.

By organizing the market for labor in a systematic manner, it was hoped that the disorder on which labor runners, recruiters, and the rest of the middleman traffic thrive could be reduced or eliminated. Much of this hope has been realized in industrial employment, through the efforts of the public employment services and by the systematic efforts of industrial employers to organize and control recruitment and hiring. The growth of union organizations among industrial employees has also contributed. Little has been accomplished, however, in the way of orderly organization of the farm labor market, especially in the recruitment and placement of domestic migratory farm workers.

There are numerous obstacles which stand in the way of establishing an orderly and efficient system of recruitment and placement in so highly irregular a form of employment as seasonal farm work.

In addition, however, the procedures and methods followed by the Farm Placement Service in carrying out its program may be responsible for difficulties that have prevented it from achieving its goal of an "orderly and expeditious movement of migrant workers to successive job opportunities." Certainly, the Commission's inquiries and observations do not justify a finding that much has been accomplished by the Service in the way of organizing an orderly and expeditious movement of workers to successive jobs with minimum loss of time between work opportunities. We are of the opinion, rather, that hardly a dent has been made in the disorder that accompanies the migration of domestic farm workers across the country, and that the Farm Placement Service has made little progress toward its goal.

Much emphasis is placed by the Service on "providing current and reliable information regarding crop conditions and employment opportunities." Numerous booklets and bulletins are published and distributed giving estimates of conditions of crops from time to time, and general statements of how many workers are expected to be needed in certain areas, States, and counties. These estimates are supplied by farm employers or their associations, county agricultural agents, and similar sources. The information may be of some value to employment office officials, or to crew leaders and labor contractors, but for individual workers, it appears at best to be of little use and actually may be confusing and misleading. Even if it were accurately stated that in certain areas on certain crops 500 or 1,000 workers would be needed for a period of 2 or 3 weeks, the information is not directed to any particular group and consequently may attract double or more the number of workers needed. Moreover, such estimates do not say that any particular farm employer will give employment to a specified number of workers for any specified period of time.

The spreading of such general information about possible labor needs in certain farming areas can hardly provide farm workers with reliable information about employment opportunities. To achieve this purpose it is necessary that farm employers register firm orders with the public employment offices for definite numbers of workers to begin work at a definite time at specified rates of pay. If the employment office had this information to give to individual workers applying for farm employment, then it would be in a position to offer real opportunities for work with the employers who had placed the orders. But so far as the great mass of migratory farm workers is concerned, no such procedure is followed by the Farm Placement Service.

In some instances, as in the States along the lower Atlantic coast and in Texas, the State Employment Services approach such a procedure by securing definite information from farm employers as to their specific needs and then arranging meetings with crew leaders to discuss filling those needs. It is the crew leaders, however, and not the employment offices that recruit workers, though the employment offices sometimes help to fill out their crews. The testimony at our Florida hearing was that in these cases the employment offices took credit for placing the total number of workers in the crew which they refer to particular employers. There are other instances of similar arrangements, but the vast majority of migratory workers are not registered as applicants for employment and they are not referred to or placed with farm employers who have filed applications for help.

The normal procedures of public employment offices in placing industrial and commercial workers, including seasonal, temporary, or casual laborers, require that employers shall file applications for the workers they want and that those seeking work shall file applications for employment. The same procedures are also used by the employment offices in placing the smaller numbers of more regular or permanent hired farm hands. But the Farm Placement Division seems to be of the opinion that it is impractical to devise a method of taking applications for employment from migratory workers and definite orders from farm employers for the seasonal or migratory laborers they need. Yet public employment offices in many States have for years found such procedures quite practical in placing great numbers of casual and seasonal laborers on construction work, in railroad extra gangs, lumber camps, tunnel and dam building, and similar operations.

Except for the arrangements with crew leaders and labor contractors in Florida and Texas, the Farm Placement Service does little to register and mobilize the migratory workers and their family groups at their home bases for the purpose of controlling and directing the movement of the migrants to definite places of employment. Likewise, little is done to arrange with farm employers for successive employment of migratory groups.

Instead, most of the efforts and energies of the Service are devoted to influencing the migratory movements after they have already begun by disseminating information as to the crop areas where work is expected to be available. This is done by spreading general information, by advertising, and by roadside information stations where the migrants who stop to inquire can get general directions. This differs little from the mass advertising and publicity by which employers try to attract large supplies of labor to their neighborhoods when there is no effective employment service for bringing workers and employers together.

Generally, the Farm Placement Service has been more successful in winning the confidence and cooperation of farm employers than of the migratory farm workers. This seems to be due to the fact that in practice the Service places greater emphasis on its function as a recruiting agency for farm employers than it does on the equally important function of a work-finding agency for the migratory farm laborers. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the recruitment activities of the Farm Placement Service and those of the farm employers themselves. An employer or employers' association may finance in whole or in part a recruiting program undertaken by the Service in behalf of the particular employer or association. In our Portland hearing, for example, we were informed by a representative of the Service that employers—

> * * * assisted us in financing [the advertising] campaign for workers. * * * In some instances, they [the employers] sent representatives into areas to work with other local officers for direct recruitment.

An Arizona Employment Service representative further illuminated these joint recruitment operations as follows:

> The heavy demand for cotton pickers constitutes the major problem. This is resolved by the usual activities, such as positive recruitment by employers in supply States working in cooperation with the Employment Service, radio publicity, newspaper advertisements paid for by growers, posters, and dissemination of information concerning wages, housing, and transportation. * * *

Reciprocally, the employment service in some cases designates the employer or his representative to act as the recruiting agent. In this manner, the Arizona State Employment Service, for example, made arrangements to send farm employers to Texas, Oklahoma, and Idaho to recruit cotton pickers. Through this arrangement the employers "were able to forego the cost of a recruiting license in the State of Texas and [their] representative was able to work in any county rather than being limited to the one in which the license was purchased." Mississippi cotton growers were encouraged by the public employment system of that State to pool their requirements and to send a representative to Texas in 1949 to recruit cotton choppers.

Although crew chiefs, labor contractors, and other private recruiting agents are competitors of the public placement service, nevertheless such recruiters are often patrons of the service, and it cooperates with them in their recruiting efforts. When a labor contractor at our Los Angeles hearing was asked where he got his labor, he replied that he got many workers from the public employment offices. In fact, the Farm Placement Service seems to be becoming increasingly dependent in many parts of the country on crew leaders and other types of labor solicitors in its recruiting activities, as indicated by the arrangements with these private recruiters in Florida and Texas mentioned above. Moreover, in many public placement offices where migratory laborers apply for work they are referred to crew leaders or labor contractors rather than directly to farm employers.

These practices have convinced the Commission that the Employment Service conceives its functions as rather narrow and limited. Moreover, its activities are marked by a certain one-sidedness in favor of corralling supplies of migratory farm workers to meet growers' labor demand regardless of effects on the workers. Thus, the Service has tended to disregard the effects on workers of attracting or directing oversupplies of labor into certain crop areas.

The general attitude of the Farm Placement Service that impresses the Commission as one-sided is perhaps best illustrated by the "Special Farm Labor Committee" attached to the Service which we mentioned in a previous chapter. Despite the fact that Congress in establishing the United States Employment Service provided for a Federal Advisory Council representing workers, employers, and the public, and similar tripartite councils for each of the State Employment Services, the Farm Placement Division disregarded the principal of representing all interests affected by the operations of public employment offices. In organizing and depending for advice on the Special Farm Labor Committee composed wholly of farm employers and their representatives, it acted as if, in bringing together employment opportunities and seasonal and migratory farm workers, only the advice of employers was needed, and the public and the worker had no interest in the matter. Congress, however, made no such distinction when it provided for representation of all interests on advisory councils for public employment services in all its operations. It plainly intended that labor and management in agriculture, industry, commerce, and all other forms of economic activity should be treated alike.

It may be that a special farm labor committee is needed to advise the Service on the particular problems of agricultural employment. But we can find no justification for confining membership on such a committee to farm employer representation only. Preferably the committee should function as a subcommittee of the statutory Advisory Council, and not as an independent body, for the functions of the Farm Placement Service are not confined to farming, but cover also "related industries." Moreover, many migratory farm workers are employed at other than farm work during some portion of the year.

At present the activities of the Farm Placement Service are largely supplementary to the efforts of the migratory workers themselves to find work opportunities and to the numerous private recruiters, crew leaders, labor contractors, farm employers, and their associations to recruit labor for themselves. The basic need is to establish the Service as the main mobilizing agency for connecting the labor supply directly with the farm employers' labor demands, and eliminating as far as possible the middlemen traffic between the two. This basic need must include measures for lengthening periods of employment and reducing migrancy to a minimum by helping the migrants to establish their home base near the areas of large farm labor demand so that they can maintain normal family life by traveling to their work relatively short distances and return to their homes daily or at fairly frequent intervals.

In directing attention to the shortcomings of the present program of the Farm Placement Service, the Commission does not want to leave the impression that the Service is wholly responsible for the present unsatisfactory methods of adjusting agricultural labor needs and available farm labor supplies. Although Federal authority and responsibility for farm labor placement have existed for nearly two decades, the many administrative rearrangements within these years may have interfered with the development of a well-rounded program. In addition to transfers of the Farm Placement Service among the Department of Labor, the War Manpower Commission, and the Federal Security Agency, farm placement was divorced from the general employment service and placed in the Department of Agriculture from 1943 to 1948. When farm-labor placement was again brought back with the general employment service in 1948, greater responsibility was allocated to the States. These numerous administrative changes and the brief life of the Farm Placement Service in its present form have not made for an administrative environment in which an effective farm labor program could easily develop.

Nevertheless, the Farm Placement Service has made some constructive contribution toward mobilizing farm-labor supply and demand in an efficient manner. In some parts of the country there have been developed with its aid and guidance "day haul" arrangements which enable local workers to circulate regularly during the seasons of labor demand between their homes and farms in nearby areas. Through the efforts of the public employment services along the Atlantic coast and within Texas, the migratory pattern is being made more orderly and systematic, despite the fact that this program is still built in the main on the use of crew leaders who largely recruit their own crews. The New York State Employment Service is endeavoring, through a registration system, to find out more about its migratory crews and to improve their working programs, even though it is not yet in a position to license and regulate crew leaders coming into the State.

Another constructive program is that of the Benton Harbor Employment Service which operates in the fruit and vegetable area of southwest Michigan. The employment service in this area has followed a policy of referring workers for employment only when individual placement is assured. The city of Benton Harbor cooperates in the program by maintaining a modern sanitary camp for migratory workers. This camp not only provides temporary housing for workers moving from one place of employment to another but, under supervision of the local employment office, it serves as a supply center for labor which can be used by the public employment system to meet the labor needs of employers in the area.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) Federal legislation be enacted to prohibit interstate recruitment of farm labor by crew leaders, labor contractors, employers, employers' agents, and other private recruiting agents except when such agents are licensed by the Department of Labor. The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor should develop appropriate standards for regulating and licensing such private agents.

(2) States enact legislation and establish enforcement machinery to regulate and license labor contractors, crew leaders, and other private recruiting agents operating intrastate, such legislation to include private solicitors or recruiters operating on a fee or nonfee basis, either part-time or year-round. The standards of regulation should at least equal those established by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor. The recommendations of the Governor's Committee of California suggest the form and content of such State legislation.

(3) The United States Employment Service and the State employment services adopt a policy of refusing to refer workers to crew leaders, labor contractors, or private recruiting agents for employment.

(4) The United States Employment Service adopt regulations and administrative procedures to safeguard interstate recruiting and transporting of workers by providing that:

(*a*) Terms of employment be reduced to writing, such written terms to contain a provision for the adjustment of grievances.

(*b*) Housing and transportation arrangements available to workers meet the minimum standards established by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor.

(*c*) State employment services shall not recruit farm workers outside their States or assist in bringing farm workers in from other States unless the United States Employment Service is assured that the State does not have the necessary labor available within its own borders.

(5) Neither the United States Employment Service nor State employment services join with employers, employers' associations, or other private recruiting agents in mass advertising for interstate recruitment.

(6) In order to achieve better utilization of the national domestic farm labor supply, States having legislation restricting recruitment of workers for out-of-State employment (emigrant agent laws) undertake repeal of such legislation.

(7) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor establish transportation standards of safety and comfort (including in-transit rest camps). The States should be guided by the transportation standards of the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor as minimum conditions to govern intrastate transportation of migratory farm workers.

(8) The United States Employment Service and the State employment services be advised on farm labor questions by the tripartite advisory councils provided for in the Wagner-Peyser Act or by tripartite subcommittees of the councils.

Chapter 6

Employment Management and Labor Relations

As is evident from the discussion of preceding chapters, migratory farm laborers in the United States, both alien and domestic, work under circumstances in which impersonal relations and insecurity are dominantly characteristic. Only the legal aliens and the Puerto Ricans, which together in recent years have comprised approximately one-tenth of all migrants, work under the stability and orderliness of employment contracts. The other nine-tenths, made up of some 400,000 wetbacks and 500,000 domestic workers, with only rare exceptions, do not have the stability of an employment contract on which workable employer-employee relations may be founded.

When employment occurs under the contractual relationship which legal aliens and Puerto Ricans have, there is no occasion for the labor contractor or crew leader to introduce himself as an employment intermediary. In contrast, for a large proportion of the domestic migrants and also for some of the wetbacks, the obscurity and uncertainty of the employer-employee relationship are aggravated by the intervention of the labor contractor, whose role was discussed at some length in the preceding chapter.

The outstanding features of the foreign and Puerto Rican work contracts which contribute to stability in the employer-employee relationship are the provisions establishing a minimum term for the contract and a guarantee of minimum employment or of minimum earnings within the term of the contract. Supplementary to these features, the contracts contain other provisions which reduce the uncertainty and the insecurity of employment relations which are all too common to the employment situation of the vast majority of migrants.

Under the Mexican-United States International Agreement, Mexican workers are contracted for 3 to 6 months, and many are recontracted up to 12 months. In the New Jersey area, where most Puerto Ricans are used, the minimum Puerto Rican contract period is 3 months and a majority of the workers have 5- or 6-month contracts. The average term of the British West Indian contracts is 4 months.

The Mexican worker is guaranteed employment for 75 percent of the working time of the entire contract period. Working time is defined on the basis of an 8-hour day and a 6-day week. On days when the Mexican worker is given only 4 hours or less of employment, his contract provides free subsistence or the cash equivalent. Similarly, the Puerto

Rican contracts guarantee 160 hours of employment in each 4-week period, which is voided only by an "act of God" or breach of contract by the worker. The minimum guaranteed earnings of Jamaicans and Bahamians are set at $25 in each 2-week period.

The Puerto Rican, Jamaican, and Bahamian contracts limit the hours which an employee may be required to work—the first, to 8 per day; the other two to 10 per day. The Mexican contract prescribes only that the Mexican worker need not work different hours than those which prevail for domestic workers.

Another common characteristic of the work contracts is limitation of the amount of money which may be charged for board and lodging. These charges range from $1.75 a day for meals in the Mexican contract, to $1.40 a day for board and lodging in the Bahamian contract. At his option, the Mexican worker may prepare his own meals, but, in that event, must provide his own cooking facilities. The Jamaican and Bahamian, on the other hand, may be required to use the board and lodging furnished by the employer. Under all contracts, workers are free to purchase food and other articles of personal consumption wherever they wish.

Since all four of these contracts are subject to supervision and intervention by Government agencies, there is, in all cases, a third party who, theoretically, can deal with the complaints of workers. The Mexican contract worker may take any complaint he may have to his consul or to representatives of the United States Employment Service. Bahamian and Jamaican workers may turn to agents of their respective governments who are maintained for the purpose of administering their contracts and adjusting complaints that may arise under them. The Puerto Rican contracts are supervised by the Insular Department of Labor. Further, these contracts specifically provide that, upon the worker's request, the Puerto Rican Commissioner of Labor may represent him "for all purposes arising out of or in connection with this agreement." While it cannot be said that these various grievance procedures in the foreign and Puerto Rican contracts have the effectiveness of grievance machinery in a well-developed collective-bargaining situation, they do nonetheless represent an advance over the recourse that the typical domestic migrant has, which is to move on to something else, if he feels he has been treated unjustly.

Farm Employers' Organizations for Management of Labor Problems

To simplify the administrative problems of entering into work contracts, and to meet the obligation of minimum employment guarantees, farm employers have found advantage in organizing themselves into associations. For the most part, these employer associations are an outgrowth of the World War II emergency period when their organization was encouraged and sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture and the affiliated State Agricultural Extension Services. In addition to their convenience in the contracting of foreign labor, these associations were found to offer advantages in centralizing the procurement of labor from domestic sources, as described in the preceding chapter, and also in pooling the use of a labor supply. The number of such farm employer associations grew to about 400 by the end of World War II.

With the pressure to conserve labor much reduced at the end of the war, some of the wartime organizations disbanded, but since the advantages of such organizations had been demonstrated, many were maintained. During the postwar years, new associations have been formed and a number of organizations which had disbanded after the war have recently been reactivated.

To illustrate the nature and the types of activities of present-day farm employer associations, we describe some of the organizations whose representatives testified at our hearings.

Michigan Field Crops.—Michigan Field Crops is a nonstock, nonprofit corporation of some 19,000 farmers, the bulk of whom are under contract to the Michigan Sugar Co., and a few other large food processors. The articles of incorporation state the purpose to be:

> The promotion of the production of field crops and other forms of agriculture; the rendering of service and assistance in connection with the obtaining and employment by them of field labor; the regulation of the movement of field labor from one or more members of this organization to other members as seasonal requirements shall determine.

Indicative of the scale of operations of Michigan Field Crops is the fact that in 1950 it furnished about 11,000 workers to its farmer members. Among these workers were approximately 5,000 Puerto Ricans, 5,000 Texas-Mexicans, and 1,000 from Michigan or nearby States.

Garden State Service Cooperative Association.—The Garden State Service Cooperative Association is an outgrowth of an experiment undertaken by the Gloucester County Board of Agriculture in New Jersey when in 1946 it contracted some 200 Puerto Ricans for agricultural labor. The experiment was successful and the organization grew in scope. In 1949, the Gloucester County Board of Agriculture with five other farm employer associations established the Garden State Service Cooperative Association. This association has no individual employer members but only association members. It is the recruiting and transporting agent for the association members. In the spring of 1950, the Gloucester County Board of Agriculture's farm labor project was superseded by the Glassboro Service Association. The present membership of the Garden State Service Cooperative Association is as follows: Glassboro Service Association of New Jersey; Farmers and Gardeners Association of New Jersey; Brant Growers Cooperative of New York; Ulster Vegetable Growers Cooperative of New York; and Wayne County Growers and Processors of New York.

The operations of the Garden State Service Cooperative Association and its members are on a smaller scale than Michigan Field Crops. In 1949, Garden State recruited and transported 3,928 Puerto Ricans for its members. In 1950, it recruited 3,452 Puerto Ricans—2,196 directly from Puerto Rico and 1,256 from Michigan Field Crops. In addition to Puerto Ricans recruited from the island, others already on the mainland come of their own accord to the individual associations and are given contracts generally similar to those given the recruited workers. In 1950, Glassboro Service Association employed 4,600 Puerto Ricans, of whom 2,319 were recruited in Puerto Rico and 2,281 were "walk-ins." Glassboro's plans for 1951 call for 7,500 Puerto Ricans of whom the association anticipates 1,000 will be "walk-ins."

Minnesota Canners Association.—Minnesota Canners Association is a product of the World War II period. It is made up of 19 canning companies operating 29 plants within Minnesota. Its canner membership in 1950 harvested about 100,000 acres principally in corn and peas. The bulk of this acreage is on general farms which are under production contract to the canners. The association stated its maximum field labor requirement to be about 5,000 workers. In September at our Saginaw hearing, its representative reported 2,049 field workers as being then employed of whom slightly more than three-fourths were Puerto Ricans and foreign workers. The remaining one-fourth was principally Texas-Mexicans.

Green Giant Company.—This is a food processing company which operates canning plants in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Washington, Idaho, and Pennsylvania. The Minnesota Division alone estimates its harvest labor requirement at 2,000. The Wisconsin Division of the company processes the vegetables from 16,000 acres, while the Blue Mountain Division in the Pacific Northwest similarly handles 25,000 acres. The different divisions of the company operate with some autonomy in procuring their labor supplies.

Pooling Labor Needs and Lengthening Employment

Employer associations have made it possible to improve the methods of managing labor, to the benefit of employers and employees alike. Employers have found associations helpful in securing more efficient utilization of their labor supply. At the same time, workers have received longer and more continuous employment. Pooling of labor needs makes more continuous employment possible because peak labor needs of different farms, crops, and areas occur at somewhat different times, thus enabling the same workers to meet several peak needs.

Testimony presented at our hearings indicated that pooling arrangements among employers take place in various ways. Some food-processing companies with large-scale operations operate intracompany pooling schemes. Even in this case, however, the units of these companies frequently find it to their advantage to pool labor needs with outside companies and growers in their own geographic area. We also found that employer associations often exchange workers between one another and with food-processing companies. In fact, the Garden State employer association in New Jersey is the only association coming to our attention which provides continuous employment over a period of several months without going outside its membership.

Illustrative of intracompany pooling is the testimony of the representative of the Minnesota Division of the Green Giant Company:

> * * * we * * * have our plants in these different locations in Washington, in Iowa, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and so forth, and these places reach their peak at different periods of time. So, for example, this year we at our own expense shipped 100 men from Minnesota out to the State of Washington to meet their peak, and then, at our own expense again, we brought them back to meet our peak.

Where a company is spread over so wide an area as is the Green Giant Company, participation in State or regional labor pools and exchanges with other employer associations or processors within the various regions is also extensively used. The representative of the Wisconsin Division of the Green Giant Company told us:

> At the same time we made negotiations with the United States Sugar Corporation of Clewiston, Florida, and we were able to obtain some British West Indian workers from them, while some were recruited in Jamaica and flown to the States. * * *
>
> The Minnesota division got many of their workers from the Florida Vegetable Committee of Orlando, Florida, and they also recruited men directly from the Bahama Islands. These workers were transferred between our pool members as the crops developed and we were able to harvest all of our crops. All of the workers likewise were steadily employed.

The Minnesota Division of this company described its outside pooling arrangements to us in these terms:

> We have worked it out with other people where we can ship these men to them for intermediate periods. For example, we shipped quite a few men to Pioneer Hybrid in Iowa in their corn operation, and * * * Michigan Field Crops is another group that we worked with. We need more workers during the corn operations than we do during the pea operations, so Michigan Field Crops no longer needed their Puerto Ricans at the end of the cultivating season and we took 400 and some from them and used them in our corn operations. Now, they will need them back again about September 25, so we again will pay their way back to Michigan so they will get there in time for the

> further beet operations. * * * By shifting around and working with these different people, we can keep them occupied most of the time, although there will always be a few days when they will stay in the camp without any means of income. * * *

Michigan Field Crops, with 19,000 grower members, is set up primarily to pool its own labor supply. However, at our Trenton hearing we learned of 1,200 workers being sent to Garden State Service Cooperative Association of New Jersey and in our Saginaw hearing we were told of 500 who had been sent to a Minnesota group. We asked:

> Q. * * * how does it happen you would have available out of your total of 5,000 roughly, Puerto Ricans, nearly 2,000 that you could loan, so to speak, to these distant areas in other parts of the country?
>
> A. Well, I think the explanation of that lies in the fact that we had to increase unexpectedly, at the last moment our Puerto Rican requirements because of the failure of Chicago* and the displaced persons, and we had to enter into contract with Puerto Rico for a specified period of time, whether we wanted to or not. In other words, Puerto Rico would not enter into a contract just for the length of time in our work in sugar beets. It was up to us to scramble around and find some users who would be willing under the contract terms, to take over all the surplus we had, that could not be absorbed in our own crops, here.

The Garden State Cooperative Service Association and its member associations have two ways of pooling labor within the structure of their organization. First is the interfarm exchange of labor within each individual association. If this fails to meet the contractual guarantees of the organization to its Puerto Rican workers, there is the second possibility of exchanging labor among the individual associations. The testimony indicated, however, that interfarm exchanges within the individual associations were usually adequate. There have been few inter-association exchanges of labor.

That exchange of labor among farms within each association membership has been adequate to meet the guarantee to the Puerto Ricans of 160 hours of employment in each 4-week period is probably largely attributable to the diversity of agriculture within the area. The details and results for the Glassboro Association are well described in the testimony of the manager:

> He [the typical Puerto Rican worker] comes back to the camp on June 30 [after the end of the asparagus harvest which began around May 1], and he finds it will be necessary for him to live in the camp for a 3- or 4-week period until tomatoes. Now, during this time, he is employed on a variety of jobs on a day-haul basis—beans, pickles, onions, a variety of crops which

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*"Our plans in Chicago went awry * * * when the Immigration Service deported some 1,800 illegal Mexican entries and the balance of the Latin American population remained in the city hoping to obtain the industrial jobs vacated by these illegal aliens."

are harvested during the month of July. He may be employed a few days on this farm and a few days on that farm. We keep the boys busy. * * * Tomato picking lasts until approximately October 1, depending on the frost. * * * The minute this boy is finished with tomatoes, he is replaced on a sweetpotato farm to work out the balance of his contract until November 1. * * * It requires a great deal of coordination in placements. For example, last year we used 4,076 men. We placed those men an average of 2.12 times, and they did the work of about 9,000 men. * * * In 1948 we had quite a problem of coordination. * * * And in order to keep all our people employed at all times, we had to place each man 3.35 times in 1948. But through better knowledge of the situation, probably better knowledge of our own farms and farming conditions in southern New Jersey, in 1949 we were able to cut that placement figure to 2.12 times per man and still keep our men employed at all times.

Employment Terms for Contract Workers Not Extended to Domestic Labor

An important thing to note about the arrangements just described is that they apply to foreign and Puerto Rican workers. They do not apply to domestic labor. Continuous work opportunities over a 3- to 5-month period are open to those workers for whom employers are under a minimum employment obligation. Only one case came to our knowledge of an association or company giving to domestic migratory workers a contract comparable to that offered foreign or Puerto Rican workers. The exception is that of the Blue Mountain Division (Pacific Northwest) of the Green Giant Company in the contract which it offers its Texas-Mexican workers.

We were interested in the reasons why farm-employer associations, with this exception, had not entered into contract arrangements with domestic workers on terms similar to those on which they contracted foreign labor. At our Fort Collins hearing, we asked this question of the representative of the Great Western Sugar Company which employs both domestic and Mexican national labor but only the latter under contract.

> Q. Have the sugar companies of this area offered American workers contract provisions similar to those they have given to Mexican nationals?
>
> A. The answer is "No."
>
> Q. Why not?
>
> A. Oh, it involves a lot of bookkeeping. You have to do it if you want to get nationals. You don't have to do it if you engage the local laborers. * * * The laborers locally so far have been willing to accept employment on the basis of the terms that are offered, so I don't think or see that there is any obligation to offer to the local labor the premium price, you might call it, and advantages that you are obliged to offer to get the supplemental labor that you get from foreign sources.

Michigan Field Crops employs both continental domestic and Puerto Rican workers, yet it too excludes continental-workers from contract arrangements. Again we asked why continental domestic workers, in this instance, Texas-Mexicans, were not accorded contracts comparable to the ones extended to offshore workers. The representative of Michigan Field Crops replied:

> Well, I think the basic answer to that is any contract of that sort is entirely one-sided as to its responsibilities. The worker, if he feels that the grower has not kept his part of the contract asks us [Michigan Field Crops] if he can do anything in the courts of law against the man, who is a property owner and a responsible man, but if the worker himself decides he does not like it, which he does in 50 percent of the cases, our effectiveness is only 50 percent on this, you have no recourse, because the man, if he was silly enough to bring him into the court, would not have anything to collect against anyway. That to me is one of the basic causes of trouble in this whole labor contracting business. You are not dealing with a man who, if he is so minded, can be held to a contract, and the grower feels why should he be held to anything in the way of a contract if it does not mean anything to the one he contracts with.

Again, the Wisconsin Division of the Green Giant Company employs both continental-domestic and offshore workers, yet it refuses to accord domestic workers contracts. When we asked the representative of the Wisconsin Division why it did not extend contracts to domestic workers, he did not answer our questions. Instead, he told us that domestic workers had the opportunity of applying to the United States Employment Service for work.

At our Saginaw hearings, we learned that Stokely Foods, Inc., extends a written agreement to its Texas-Mexican workers which it calls a "contract" but it is not comparable to the contracts which employers extend to Puerto Rican and foreign workers. The Stokely Foods "contract" is for the "harvesting season." "Harvesting season" is not defined more explicitly than the period during which "all agricultural crops for processing and preserving by the company are harvested in the current year." The contract guarantees minimum wages of 55 cents an hour or prevailing wages if these are higher. It provides the cost of transportation from Texas at company expense for those workers who stay until the end of the season. Return transportation, whether during the season or at the end, is a worker expense. In accepting the contract, the worker agrees to perform agricultural work in such States or localities as the company shall designate. If a change in locality of employment during the harvest season is required, transportation expense is paid by the company. No compensation, however, is given for the employment time lost in travel. If the company does not have agricultural work available, the worker is obliged to accept employment with such others as the company arranges.

While the Stokely type of contract represents a definite step forward in assuring employment over a period of time, it does not inform the worker in any precise terms how long this employment will continue. Not only does he suffer the handicaps of not knowing when the season will be deemed to end, but the broad language of "harvest season" permits the company complete latitude of interpretation. The contract is of benefit to the worker in guaranteeing a minimum wage or prevailing wage, whichever is the higher, but it says nothing about minimum earnings. Therefore, the obligation of the employer to provide fully continuous employment is absent. The contract makes no provision for accident or health insurance or for housing. It stipulates company responsibility for arranging transportation and, for those workers who remain until the company declares the "harvest season" at an end, guarantees one-way transportation at company expense.

An Exception—Terms of Employment for Domestic Workers Comparable to Those Extended Puerto Rican and Foreign Workers

Earlier in this chapter, we stated that we had received testimony of one contract offered to continental-domestic workers comparable to the Puerto Rican and foreign contracts. The testimony was from the representative of the Blue Mountain Division (Pacific Northwest) of the Green Giant Company, a company some of whose other divisions claim the impracticality of contracts for continental-domestic workers. To its Texas-Mexicans the Blue Mountain Division offers a nonnegotiated work contract which it calls an "Offer of Employment." It was explained to us that this was an outgrowth of the "Individual Work Contract" which this Division used with its Mexican national workers during World War II. The "Offer of Employment" contains several interesting features. The 1950 "offer" was for employment to commence "on or about" a specified date, and to continue for roughly a 4-month period. It provided for guaranteed minimum earnings of $60 for each 2-week period if the worker remained for the full season. The hourly rate was 75 cents. Board and room arrangements were described and the charge set at $1.75 per day. The "offer" stated that the employer would provide "transportation via designated truck from the recruitment area to the place of employment plus $5 for food enroute." For workers who remained to the end of the season, return transportation under similar arrangements was provided. Workers accepting the "offer" obligated themselves to accept group medical insurance at a charge of 75 cents a week deductible from their pay. Sick leave with pay was specifically excluded. The "offer of employment" was made with the understanding that, when accepted by the worker, "it shall constitute a binding agreement." It was written in English and in Spanish and was signed by the company and the worker.

The employment record which this type of personnel practice has produced is striking. The Texas-Mexicans under this contract turn out to be "reliable" workers. Other migratory workers referred to as "white" who work under the same conditions, live in the same housing, eat the same food, but who are not accorded a contract, are found to be "unreliable." Turn-over rates for Texas-Mexicans and "white" migratory workers were cited to us for several 2-week work periods. The contrast was unmistakable. The record for one 2-week work period was: 7.4 percent of contract Texas-Mexicans left their work; 36.1 percent of other migratory workers left their work. The comparable figures for another 2-week period were 7.8 percent and 40.6 percent, respectively.

The company's representative was hesitant to ascribe the difference to the contract for, as he said, one group was Texas-Mexican, the other group was "white." To us, however, the evidence seems to indicate that the difference is primarily to be explained by the work contract. The record of the Blue Mountain Division of the Green Giant Company indicates to us that when a company treats its workers as employees, rather than merely as suppliers of labor service, workers respond as employees. We believe the way to attract a more reliable type of worker is for the employer to offer a contract which he intends to live up to himself and which he expects the worker likewise to respect.

One reason for the success of the Blue Mountain Division's "Offer of Employment" with Texas-Mexicans is that the company carefully screens the workers who are to be given contracts. On this point the company's representative said:

> As far as contracts are concerned, they are not worth the paper they [are] on if you don't get the right man to sign. The thing I should like to stress * * * is the screening of men before you ever sign them on a contract.

Collective Bargaining

We encountered only two instances of farm employees being covered by collective-bargaining agreements currently in force. One of these agreements was between Local 56, Meat and Cannery Workers, A. F. of L. and a large grower-processor in New Jersey (Seabrook Farms). The other was between Local 413, United Packinghouse Workers of America, C. I. O., and a cane-sugar producing and processing association in Florida (Fellsmere Sugar Producers Association).

In each of these instances, however, collective-bargaining coverage was limited, since the bulk of the seasonal field labor was not specifically covered by the agreement. Nevertheless, in both instances, provisions of the agreements afforded a measure of benefit to seasonal and migratory workers because some of the collective bargaining results were extended to them. Principal among these were rights of promotion from field to plant work and seniority in hiring and firing.

In the Seabrook operation, the explanation by management, of why piecework laborers were not under the contract, was as follows:

> They [the union] can't put the finger on them. They couldn't get a check-off * * * because they are not, as individuals, on our payroll, and they come and go more freely than our hourly workmen, and we are able to permit it because we are only interested in a certain number of baskets being picked a day. * * *

The Union spokesman put it this way:

> It takes a family of three, four, or five to earn the kind of money that has been reported they earn under a one-card system. We could not certainly take in our union children 6 years old and 8 years old, and would not permit them to work. As a result, the breadwinner of the family resents union organization because that is the only means of making the money he does make when all the family help.

Whatever the handicaps in organizing field workers in agriculture, attempts at unionism have been made in the past and are proceeding at present. Most of the efforts have been strongly resisted by farm employers. In the two cases cited in this discussion, union recognition was given reluctantly. Seabrook explained the basis of their recognition of the union as follows:

> They had the organization, there was no doubt about it. I think our thought was that if Mr. Ford couldn't beat them [the unions], we couldn't either.

Following recognition of the union as collective-bargaining agent and the commencement of effective collective bargaining, however, the attitude of the Seabrook Farms Company toward the union has substantially changed. Seabrook's testimony was as follows:

> I don't think we have suffered any from it. We happen to be dealing * * * with quite respectable unions that have very reputable leadership, and we haven't been subjected to any wildcat strikes.

Similarly, the reaction of the representative of the Fellsmere Association was:

> You have to admit that the union does perform a job for you that [the company] would have to employ people to do for you to maintain labor relations. It makes for more economical operations. There was a time when I didn't think that was so, but I have found out it is true.

It is notable that out of collective-bargaining experience, the employer in both of these instances has come to appreciate the value which union organization can have in contributing to effective management of its enterprise's. Seabrook's testimony on this point was:

> We have had excellent cooperation from our union in the matter of absenteeism because they realize it affects the employment of so many other of their own members. * * * Anybody who regularly deals with labor would be foolish if they didn't call on the union on all sort of problems, and we get good help from them, whether it is for collecting for the Community Chest or whether it is too many damaged cartons or too much spinach being spilled on the highway.

Furthermore, union organization has been found by experience to build a channel of employer-worker communication which does not exist when employees have no coordinated means of expression. For Seabrook, the testimony on this point was:

> We have one advantage that was a great advantage during the war—that our people were represented by (spokesmen) who came to us and told us what they wanted, whereas other (employers) that I know were in the unfortunate position of never really knowing what their (employees) wanted and what they could do to keep (them) and so forth.

In addition to contributing to orderliness in making management policies effective, union organization has been found to supply ideas not previously introduced by management. For example, when asked, "Do you have a formal on-the-job training program?" the Seabrook representative said:

> Yes, we do, and we are regularly upgrading people. Again we might not have been as good at it if the union had not suggested it in the first place, but it is now obviously a good idea.

Further, the union within its own organization provides an opportunity for the emergence of leadership. Note the Seabrook testimony on this point:

> * * * we are constantly promoting the leadership and people who I don't think we would have realized were good leaders become good leaders because they started out as stewards and committeemen and got used to being on their feet and talking, and we discovered they were good foremen * * *.

It is noted also that in the collective-bargaining process the employer has found it possible to meet some of the requests of employees that previously had been thought difficult if not impossible. For example, the Seabrook spokesman in referring particularly to their contract provision of a 4-hour minimum daily guarantee for processing-plant employees when called to work, stated they now scheduled their activities with considerable care, adding further:

> I think we do it a lot more carefully than we might have done if we had not been forced to do it, but now it seems easy.

Notwithstanding these instances of the value of bargaining as a means of introducing order and regularity in employer-worker relations, farm employers are generally not convinced of the potentialities of collective bargaining as a contribution to the solution of management's problems. Employers in other industries, while perhaps no more convinced in the beginning, have found from experience that balanced organization on both sides assists in getting an adequate and reliable labor force from domestic sources, in reducing labor turn-over, and in handling on-the-job relations.

That union organization of farm workers has not progressed is probably due largely to the instability of composition of the employee group and to the irregularity of employment. But it is due also in part to employer resistance.

The Commission is convinced that balanced organization and effective collective bargaining would be of great assistance not only to farm workers, who would thereby be given a voice in determining wages and conditions of employment, but it would contribute also to more orderly management of labor. In the long run, self-organization is the method by which agricultural workers can best improve their working condition. For this reason, farm workers should not be denied the protection and facilities of the Labor-Management Relations Act.

While extension of the Labor-Management Relations Act is a necessary step, it can hardly be expected to produce of itself sound farm labor-management relations. Both parties need to learn how to develop leadership and to assume their respective obligations. It cannot be safely assumed that all of the approaches to orderly labor-management relations that have been found to work in industry will also work in agriculture. Consequently, the needs for research, study, and thought are great and our educational institutions ought to assume a greater responsibility in this field.

Balanced Organization and Sound Labor Relations Would Eliminate Employment Middlemen

The findings reported in this and in the preceding chapter establish the fact that crew leaders and labor contractors interject themselves into farm employment only where labor relations are not orderly. When workers are employed under contract, these intermediaries disappear for there is no purpose for them to serve. Similarly, as employers organize themselves into associations to make labor recruitment and employment more systematic processes, the roles of the labor contractor and crew leader are lessened if not entirely eliminated. That balanced organization of employers and workers and the initiation of orderly labor relations would eliminate these intermediaries and the sweatshop conditions that are frequently associated with them, hardly needs elaboration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) The Agricultural Extension Service, through its Federal office and in those States where migratory labor has significant proportions, make instruction in farm-labor management and labor relations available to farm employers and to farm employees. The Agricultural Extension Services should also make available advice and counsel for organizing farm-employer associations similar to those sponsored during World War II, which associations should have the purpose of pooling their joint labor needs to promote orderly recruiting, better employer-worker relations, and more continuous employment.

(2) The Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 be amended to extend coverage to employees on farms having a specified minimum employment.

Chapter 7

Employment, Wages, and Incomes

A migratory farm laborer gets his work in bits and pieces, here and there. This process of thousands of workers piecing out a year's work by moving from place to place has come to be known as a migratory labor "pattern." The crews from Florida who migrate north along the Atlantic coast through the Carolinas and Virginia into New Jersey, New York, and even New England represent one such pattern. Another is the "Texas-Mexican" migration out of Texas through Arkansas and into the Great Lakes States. These are currently regarded as the principal migratory patterns, but there are many minor ones.

In describing migratory labor patterns, it has become the practice to list the amount of work which is supposed to be available along the route. For example, the Atlantic seaboard pattern is said to have employment potentialities as follows:

1. Florida—vegetables, citrus, potatoes—January to May—125 days.
2. North Carolina—potatoes—June—20 days.
3. Virginia—potatoes—July—20 days.
4. New Jersey—potatoes—July—20 days.
5. New York—potatoes, fruit, vegetables—July, August, September—70 days.
6. Maine—potatoes—September, October—30 days.

Comparably, the estimated employment potential of the Texas-Great Lakes States migratory pattern is said to include the following:

1. South Texas—vegetables, citrus—December to May—140 days.
2. Arkansas—strawberries—May—20 days.
3. Michigan—sugar beets—May, June, October—50 days and 30 days.
4. Michigan—cherries—June, July—50 days.
5. Wisconsin—cherries—July, August—20 days.
6. Michigan—peaches—August—20 days.
7. Indiana, Ohio—tomatoes—August, September, October—45 days.
8. Mississippi Delta—cotton—September, October, November—80 days.
9. Texas—Cotton—July, August, September, October, November—120 days.

In either of the above cases and in other similar ones, it would appear to be feasible for a migratory worker to get at least 200 days of employment in a year. As a matter of fact, however, the average migratory worker in the United States in 1949 got only 70 days of farm employment. Many explanations have been offered for this wide discrepancy between potential and actual employment.

Suppose we let the migratory workers themselves and their crew leaders explain:

Crew Leader "A" From Florida—Workers in Crew—70

Q. What time of the year did you go north up to Hendersonville [North Carolina]?

A. It was the 3d of June. * * * I stayed there the whole summer. * * * I was on the beans.

Q. When did you leave Hendersonville?

A. Around, it was the 9th of October.

Q. Did you get pretty steady work for your whole crew on that?

A. Reasonable. For 6 weeks we had pretty steady work and we had, you might say, nothing since then.

Q. What were you doing in August and September?

A. You might say nothing. Just scarcely getting along, just getting by.

Q. How did your gang make out?

A. They did better than I did, I didn't make enough to make expenses.

Q. Before, have you gone farther north or to some other place than Hendersonville?

A. No, sir.

Q. This is your regular deal, then?

A. Yes; that is right.

Q. Before this year did you do pretty good on this deal?

A. We haven't did any good in 3 years. In 3 years we didn't do much good either year.

Q. Did you try to get the North Carolina Employment Service to help you find some other place to go in August and September when you didn't have much to do?

A. I checked with them. As long as there is little work to do there, they are not going to turn you loose, more especially if you have a crew.

Q. Where you were, there was almost no work in August and September?

A. Practically no work; the rain fell so heavy it pretty near drowned the crop out * * * It hasn't been so hot for 3 years.

Q. Do you figure on going up there again next year?

A. Well, I am not definite because I tried it three times and I don't know whether I am going to take that chance again.

Q. Have you had the same people (crew) the last 3 years?

A. Just the same number, not the same people * * * pretty near a new crew every year.

Crew Leader "B" From Florida

Q. Do you want to go ahead and tell us a little bit about how you work with crews; where you work; and so on?

A. I stopped the first time—it was Elizabeth City, N. C. I was working in potatoes there [at Belcross]:

Q. How many people did you take along up there?

A. Well, about 50 * * * I have two trucks—the 2-ton is a 1948 and the 1½ is a 1940 * * * I worked in potatoes.

Q. When you left here and started up there did you have that job already lined up?

A. That's right * * * The man I was working with, he got in contact with me last season when I was upstate. He told me to bring a crew.

Q. And you were there on this deal at Belcross for a week or 2 weeks?

A. About 3 weeks I was there * * * but out of the 3 weeks, I didn't work the whole 3 weeks, you see, we were there about 4 or 5 days before we started to work.

Q. How did you happen to get there 4 or 5 days ahead of time?

A. Well, the cold weather set the potatoes back. I got a telegram from [the employer] and he told me to leave on the 12th of June. * * * After I got there, the potatoes was late; the cold snap set them back * * * Either the 9th or the 10th [of July] I think I left there.

Q. Then where did you go?

A. Hamilton, New York.

Q. To work in beans?

A. That's right.

Q. Was the work ready to go when you got there?

A. It was kind of scraping beans—it wasn't too good. They had a frost up there and the frost knocked the beans way back.

Q. Did you still have about the same bunch of people?

A. Well, no; some of them left, went with a different crew in Belcross. * * * I had about * * * 37 working people after I got there.

Q. You said when you got up to Hamilton, New York, the beans were not so hot?

A. When we got there, it wasn't.

Q. Did it improve later on?

A. It did.

Q. How did you make out during the year?

A. Well, it didn't pay me this year so good. We had a little rain up there right on the last of the season which knocked a great deal of our beans to the ground. It drowned them out, and that cut us out.

Q. Did the crew come back with any money?

A. I didn't bring very many of my crew back; most of mine stayed up there. * * * About 8 [came back].

Crew Leader "C" From Florida

Q. What portion of the year do you spend down there [in Florida]?

A. We spend January, February, March, April, and May [in Florida] and June we begin to come up and start in North Carolina, and we spend about 1 month there. Then we leave there and come to New

Jersey, and we spend about 3 months here, I guess, in Cranbury. We leave and we go to eastern Maine [Aroostook County] and spend about maybe a month and a half over there.

Q. Has your crew made enough money here in Cranbury so that they can buy their own meals on the way up [to Maine]?

A. Not this year; I don't believe so. The farmers just haven't been digging potatoes this year—couldn't sell them. Most of the crew been sitting down practically all year * * * we haven't worked but a half a day at a time. * * * They are making enough now to get groceries, but when we first come to New Jersey they ordered us up here a little bit too early.

Q. How long did you have to wait for work?

A. Two weeks.

Q. What do the members of your crew do when they get back to Florida?

A. They works in celery, oranges and lettuce and vegetables, and so on like that.

Q. Have you got any other suggestions that you want to make?

A. Well, * * * I think a fellow ought to be able to make enough money in order, if he had children, that he could school his children * * * without having to work them sometime and keep them out of school. * * * The next thing about it, even at the wages they are paying, if they work the people regularly enough they could do better than they is doing. But take most of the people, they are just working 2 or 3 days out of the week.

Worker "A" From California

Q. Tell us what you did when you went back to Imperial Valley?

A. When I went back to Imperial Valley (from Salinas, in 1949) * * * I tried everywhere (to find work). I even worked for 40 cents an hour and was unable to get jobs.

Q. What kind of work were you doing for 40 cents an hour?

A. Irrigating, and also thinning beets. Once in a while I would drive a tractor. * * * I have done mechanical work in garages—mill work. * * * I have never refused work of any type regardless of wages. I work for particular men and do anything from hoeing beets to truck driving, tractor driving, all kinds of work they may have.

Q. About how much work have you had in the past year in Imperial Valley?

A. I worked 6, 7 months out of the year.

Q. I take it from what you said earlier that you had a stable job in Imperial Valley before you left. Do you feel that there is no such work available (there) any more?

A. Some have promised steady jobs, and * * * for some reason—my union activities—I have been discharged from such work * * * I am now president of the local.

Worker "B" From California

Q. What will you be doing the rest of this year?

A. Right now [mid-August] there is a lag season. There [are] any number of workers right now that [are] absolutely without jobs. They will go from place to place. The father of the family will go with a group of men in the car and they will travel from here to Marysville or clear on up to the upper section of California into the sawmills where they will be politely turned down.

Q. What will you be doing the rest of this year? * * * Will you work at cotton picking?

A. Yes. * * * After the cotton harvest, which runs practically into December, why then you still have those potatoes. * * * After that there is a lag season of 3 months in which you actually do nothing, or try to get a little county work. * * * You go out and bush stumps * * * and cut bushes * * * things like that * * * where you receive 50 cents an hour.

Q. Can you estimate about how many days of work you * * * are able to get?

A. An over-all average of about 7 months of some type of work.

Q. That is the equivalent of about 7 months' full-time work?

A. Not exactly full time, because of the fact that I might go to work Monday morning with one contractor, and of course if he has a surplus of labor it is possible we might finish that particular field within a half a day. Then I will go and search for other contractors, and he might have 3 days' work, and if he has a surplus of labor that would automatically last for a couple of days * * *

Q. Can you estimate * * * about how much you would make in the course of a year?

A. * * * I would be able to average around 500 or 600 at the very most.

Worker "C" From California

Q. Will you please go ahead and give us your statement?

A. Most of the time I am working in * * * the Salinas area. I * * * do cutting and thinning of potatoes and sugar beets, and that is all. * * * I started in cutting celery in February. * * * Sometimes I work in March.

Q. Can you estimate how much work you get there in a year?

A. I think that I work around 6 or 7 months in the whole year.

Q. How much do you make?

A. In the whole year we make—well, not over $700.

Q. How about getting your jobs?

A. Most of the time we work with the contractors.

Q. Do you find that satisfactory?

A. Well * * * they know me pretty well, and when they get opportunities to give me a job they do that. But they prefer single people most of the time.

Worker "D" From California

Q. Would you like to trace a year's work?

A. We start about in late April. The Valencia [orange] season starts in Tulare County. That lasts pretty well, usually up until June. Around the first of July, I leave there and go to the Sacramento River and work in the pear houses. The pear harvest in that area is the first pears that ripen in California. * * * That usually lasts around 3 weeks. There is usually also a time right in there in Lake County—a week or so—and then pears start in other places—Tulare County, Santa Clara County. * * * The pear harvest will last usually pretty well into September, and then the walnuts start. * * * And then I return home in October, and the olive crop is about to start. * * * Early in November we have another orange crop season. That usually carries through until the middle of January. [Note: With the exception of "some little pruning in citrus and grapes in March," the witness typically has no work from mid-January to late April.]

Q. How much are you individually able to earn during the year on this migratory cycle that you follow?

A. I would say between $1,800 and $2,000. * * * It has been talked of here a great deal about wetbacks and Mexican Nationals. Last year in our area * * * we also had another problem. * * * The cotton harvest was over a little earlier than usual and it threw a lot of people out of employment. A lot of them didn't have houses and no place to stay and no work and it was very difficult to get any relief from the Board of Supervisors. And then they moved in something over 300 "displaced persons" and put them in the citrus groves picking fruit. * * * The sponsors * * * maintained that they were not displacing any American workers. * * * Nevertheless, there were 300 familes who could have been working if these people hadn't been there.

Worker "E" From California

Q. In the past 4 years * * * what have you been doing?

A. Well, cotton, peaches, apricots, and onions. * * *

Q. How much work do you get during the year from each of these jobs? How much in cotton chopping?

A. About a month.

Q. In cotton picking.

A. Sometimes from the 15th of September until about the last of December.

Q. You work almost every day?

A. Well, no * * * because * * * we will have winter months when we have rain, and sometimes that would keep us out of the fields.

Q. Would you estimate * * * that you pick * * * three-fourths of the time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Let's go to peaches. * * * how much work would you get thinning?

A. About 2 weeks, 3 weeks.

Q. And picking?

A. The same.

Q. Apricots?

A. About 2 or 3 weeks.

Q. For thinning?

A. * * * the same [on picking].

Q. How much work would you get in onions?

A. This year we got about 5 weeks. (Note: Total time worked is roughly 7 months.)

Q. How much do you earn in a year?

A. In the neighborhood of $600 to $700, probably a little better, more or less. * * *

Q. Have you ever tried to get a job directly from a farmer?

A. Well, no, sir, because I have seen it. It is next to an impossibility. You go to a farmer and they say, "Well, we already got this work engaged to such and such a contractor. Go and see him." * * * When I saw it was impossible, I just dropped it and from then on I make contacts with the contractors.

Worker "F" From Colorado

Q. Start off and tell us what you would like to tell us, and then I want to ask some questions..

A. They say, "Why do all the Spanish come from Texas to work here?" Some of the reason is this: I live in Laredo, Texas, and we don't have much to do down there except November and December, and then through to April, and we hear about the beets, and the Mexican fellows, they have to go some place to work and make a living. Well, that is why we come to Colorado. Some go to other places just to make a little money and then go back to Texas. Anyway, it's the same thing. They have a lot of family. They go back to Texas, and they have $200 or $300. Well, in about 2 or 3 weeks, they run out of that money and that is serious, and they are in the same spot.

Q. When did you come to Colorado this year?

A. This year about 5 or 6 weeks ago.

Q. Are you working in the beet fields?

A. Bean fields.

Q. Why didn't you work in the beets this year?

A. A lot of reasons. My wife has been sick at home, and I couldn't come in April. * * * I have a lot of contracts * * * and I have to work with my truck and find something to do. * * * and I make $8 or $10 a day, and it costs me about $5 a day to fill my kids. * * * I don't have much money to save and about every 5 or 6 months I have to spend $200 or $300 to dress up the kids. I have to find a little bit to do with my truck and save $400 or $500 in 2 months. * * * Then I go back to west Texas or San Luis Valley, or somewhere.

The Statistics and Their Implications

In 1949, the average migratory farm worker of the United States, according to a survey of the United States Department of Agriculture, got 70 days of farm work and 31 days of nonfarm work, making a total for the year of 101 days. Average annual earnings of the individual migratory farm worker from both types of employment were $514.

These averages are for both farm and nonfarm employment and include everybody 14 years old and over. Almost one-third of the migratory workers are women, and their average total employment is 68 days (50 days farm and 18 days nonfarm), whereas the average for men is 116 days (79 farm and 37 nonfarm). Between one-fourth and one-fifth of the migratory workers are between the ages of 14 and 17, and these youthful migrant workers as a group work an average of 75 to 80 days per year in both farm and nonfarm employment. Even though the employment of women and youth may be incidental, it must be noted that their employment is more than half that of men in the mature-age group, because men between 35 and 55 work only an average of 118 days per year.

By excluding those who worked only short periods (defined as 25 days or under), the average employment of the more continuous workers is 135 days for males and 82 days for females.

These statistics indicate that family work is an important characteristic of migratory farm labor. It is notable that in the migratory labor force there are as many males 14 through 17 as there are 18 through 24. There are as many males under 18 as there are 45 and over. The significance of these age comparisons is that the able-bodied males all work, when there is work to be had.

That family work is a characteristic primarily associated with the type of employment and not with migrancy as such is demonstrated by the fact that the proportions of females and youths among nonmigratory farm workers is about the same as among the migrants. In fact, the employment experience of those who are nonmigratory is remarkably like that of the migrants in many respects. The nonmigrant farm workers depend on nonfarm work to about the same extent as do the migrants, each group averaging, roughly, 30 days per year. Further similarities between migrant and nonmigrant farm workers, as well as some interesting differences, are disclosed in comparisons of the work status of each group at the end of the year (in this case, December 1949). The comparison is as follows:

Labor-force status in December 1949	Migratory workers	Non-migratory workers
	Percent	*Percent*
Total	100	100
In the labor force	71	72
Employed in agriculture	35	51
Employed in nonagriculture	23	16
Unemployed	13	5
Not in the labor force	29	28
Keeping house	12	13
In school	13	11
Other	4	4

The similarities are that about the same percentages of workers withdrew from the labor force—to housekeeping or to school, or for other reasons. The contrasts are that a far larger percentage of the nonmigratory farm workers were still employed in agriculture whereas migratory workers tended in large proportions to be employed in nonagriculture or to be unemployed.

While the work experiences of migratory and nonmigratory farm workers are parallel in many respects, there are contrasts to be noted. A far larger proportion of the nonmigratory workers are employed only 25 days or less. This means that although the wives and youth of nonmigratory farm-labor families do work, the work of many is less continuous than is that of the wives and youth in the migratory families. Eliminating from average employment experience those who worked only 25 days or less, there appears the following sharp comparison for 1949 as between migrants and nonmigrants:

	Average days of employment	
	Migratory workers	Nonmigratory workers
Farm employment only:		
All workers	70	91
Those working 25 days and more	89	148
All employment (including nonfarm):		
All workers	101	119
Those working 25 days and more	120	173

The significance of these comparisons is that, in the nonmigratory as compared with the migratory situation, the principal breadwinner works much more continuously and the supplemental work of youth and housewives is considerably more incidental.

Three times as many nonmigratory workers get 300 days or more of employment as compared with the migratory group and twice as many get 250 days or more of employment. The longer employment which nonmigrants get is primarily in farm work. Migratory workers get more nonfarm work than do nonmigrants. When employment is measured for only males who worked 25 days or more during 1949, the comparative employment picture is as follows:

	Average days of employment	
	Migratory	Nonmigratory
Farm work	98	165
Nonfarm work	37	25
All work	135	190

Wages and Earnings

While the migratory worker obtains less farm employment than does the nonmigratory worker his rate of earnings per day at farm work is somewhat better. On farm work the average was $5 per day for migrants as against $3.90 for nonmigrants (1949). This is to be explained principally in the piece-rate earnings of migrants, which, per day, are somewhat better than the daily or hourly rates more commonly paid to nonmigrants.

Summarizing the earnings of male workers employed 25 days or more in farm work, the comparisons are as follows:

	Migratory		Nonmigratory	
	Per day	Per year	Per day	Per year
Farm work	$5.60	$549	$3.95	$655
Nonfarm work	5.20	190	6.65	163
Average or total	5.50	739	4.30	818

Since the women and children of migratory families work more days per year than do those of nonmigratory families, the annual gross earnings of migratory families are probably higher. Unfortunately, no recent information on family earnings for either migratory or nonmigratory labor is available. It is doubtful, however, if the earnings of the migratory family are enough higher to offset the cost of migrating a hundred to a thousand miles. This cost must run fairly high even when it is in a crew leader's truck. A crew leader testified, for example, that although he did not "charge" his workers for their ride, the "help on the gas" from Florida to South Carolina was $8 per head. When the migratory family runs its own automobile or truck, the cost of migration is even higher.

Since nonmigratory workers receive perquisites of higher average value than those available to migratory workers, the net advantage in expendable income undoubtedly lies with the nonmigratory families even though they must have more days of employment at lower daily earnings to realize that income.

In summing up this comparison of employment and earnings for migratory and nonmigratory workers, the similarities are more obvious than the differences. Both are underemployed. In both cases, women and youth are drawn extensively into employment. The numbers of women and youth who work are about the same in the two cases but the amount of time spent in employment is much greater for the women and youth of migratory families. Earnings per day are below prevailing standards. This fact, in combination with the limited employment, explains why women and children have to work so extensively in both migratory and nonmigratory farm labor families.

This analysis of the employment and earnings of migratory and nonmigratory farm labor suggests that for the migrant to settle down as a nonmigratory farm laborer will not help him much financially.

Farm Wages: A Widening Inequity

The wages paid to migratory farm workers are usually piece rates based on such units as hundredweights, hampers, or boxes. In preharvest work, wages for hand or "stoop" labor are often on the basis of rows, acres, or thousands of plants. Regularly employed farm workers are ordinarily paid on a monthly, weekly, daily, or hourly basis. Hand labor tasks on which migratory laborers are employed also are paid on an hourly basis. This becomes increasingly the practice as the harvests are mechanized and it becomes difficult or impossible to keep a count of the work contributions of individuals.

Piece rates are frequently changed and adjusted to reflect the conditions of the particular job. If weeds, poor yields, or other such factors make the work difficult and slow, piece rates may be adjusted upward. On the other hand, when conditions are more favorable than usual, the piece rate may be lowered. Either way, the adjustments are intended primarily to reflect the earning capacity of the particular field or job.

Piece rates and rates per month, per day, or per hour are related to each other because their magnitudes and changes are influenced by the same forces. They are also related because of the fact that they are paid concurrently on the same farms and in the same farming localities. The close relationship of rates per unit of time and rates per unit of output is confirmed in the similarity of earnings of migratory as compared with nonmigratory farm workers. While the earnings per day of the nonmigratory workers were less than those of the migratory, the greater number of days of employment of the nonmigratory workers resulted in substantially equal annual cash earnings.

Piece rates and rates per day or per hour have in common the fact that both are largely influenced if not entirely determined by the practice of farm employers meeting and setting a so-called prevailing wage which they feel is appropriate for the forthcoming season. Sometimes these meetings to discuss wages are called hearings or wage conferences, but according to the testimony given us, it is seldom that anyone participates other than farm employers.

In addition to the ability of farm employers to influence or determine wage rates through their various organizations, they also have the opportunity to influence the labor supply to a very considerable extent through foreign labor programs and interstate recruitment. This, too, has a significant effect on wage rates.

In contrast, migratory farm laborers, like all hired farm labor, have had little opportunity to participate effectively in influencing the wage rates they receive. Only in exceptional instances has there been anything approaching joint determination of wage rates through collective bargaining. The migratory worker is under the harsh necessity of seeking other employment if he does not like the wages or conditions set by the employer. The illegal alien has even less bargaining power than the domestic migrant, for if he does not like the wages or working conditions that are set for him, and protests, he is subjected to discipline and possible deportation.

The consequences of these unequal opportunities of employer and worker to take an effective hand in the determination of wages are reflected in the changes that have been occurring in farm wages as compared with wages in nonagricultural employment. Comparing the hourly earnings of farm laborers and factory workers we find that during 1910–14, the period selected by Congress as the base for the farm parity price system, farm wages were two-thirds of factory wages. Today, they are only a little over one-third.

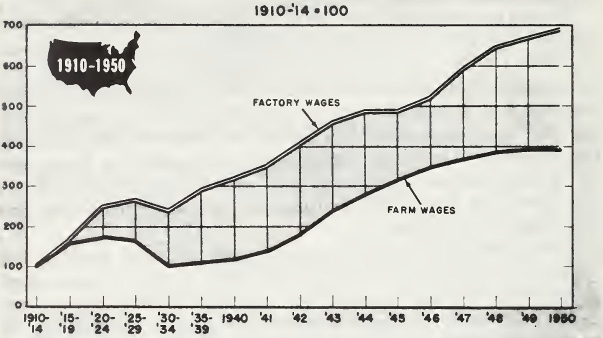
The comparative changes in farm and factory wages are set forth in charts IX and X. The actual average hourly earnings of farm and factory workers are as follows:

Year	Average hourly earnings (in dollars)		Percent, farm wage of factory wage
	Farm workers	Factory workers	
			Percent
1910–14	$0.14	$0.21	67
1915–19	.22	.34	64
1920–24	.24	.52	47
1925–29	.23	.55	41
1930–34	.14	.50	29
1935–39	.15	.61	25
1940	.16	.67	24
1941	.19	.73	26
1942	.25	.85	29
1943	.33	.96	34
1944	.39	1.02	38
1945	.44	1.02	43
1946	.48	1.09	44
1947	.51	1.24	41
1948	.54	1.35	40
1949	.55	1.40	39
1950	.55	1.45	37

CHANGES IN WAGES PER HOUR

• Farm • Factory

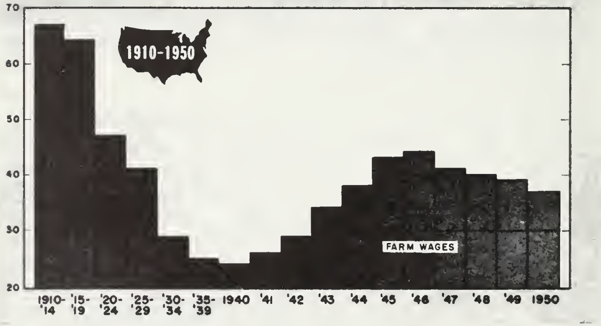
Chart IX



FARM WAGES

as a Percentage of Factory Wages

Chart X



Several significant conclusions stand out from the above wage comparison. Summarized, these are:

1. By parallel increases from the 1910–14 "base" period through World War I, farm wages maintained their relationship of two-thirds of factory wages.

2. During the decade of the twenties, farm wages deteriorated by comparison with factory wages.

3. During the thirties this deterioration continued, farm wages falling to one-fourth of factory wages.

4. In the forties, farm wages improved relatively, reaching a maximum in 1946 of 44 percent of factory wages. Even at 44 percent, however, the ratio of the World War I years was not regained. During World War I, farm wages were well over three-fifths of factory wages; during World War II, they were less than two-fifths.

5. Since 1946, farm wages have again deteriorated in relation to factory wages. This deterioration is primarily explained by the fact that farm wages have remained essentially the same while factory wages have increased. Nor does this deterioration take account of the sharp increase in the cost of living between 1946 and 1950. The meager wages of farm workers increased only 14 percent, while the cost of living, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, advanced approximately 23 percent.

Area Inequities in Farm Wages

In the above comparison of farm wages and wages in manufacturing, we have used Nation-wide averages. But Nation-wide averages tend to obscure variations from one area to another that are particularly extreme in agriculture. These differences are of much significance, not only because they reflect unequal returns for the same or similar work, but also because of the close relation between low wages and the demand for foreign labor. This relationship becomes clear in the light of data on wage differentials by areas.

An average hour of farm work in the State of Washington pays three times as much as an average hour of farm work in South Carolina (95 cents and 33 cents, respectively, in 1949). Such an extreme differential is consistent with a long established geographic wage pattern in which farm wages are higher to the North and to the West. Thus the lowest wages, except for areas of wetback traffic near the Mexican border, are paid in the Southeast, while the highest are paid in the Pacific Northwest.

Unlike nonagricultural industry where geographic wage differentials are becoming progressively narrower, there is little tendency for such differentials to level out in agriculture. In the East South Central States, the farm wage in 1910–14 was 32 percent below the national average of farm wages; by 1949, the farm wage of this region was virtually unchanged at 31 percent below the national average. At the other extreme, the 1910–14 average farm wage on the Pacific Coast was 52 percent above the national average, and by 1949 had further risen to 64 percent above the national average. Thus geographic differentials in farm wages have actually widened, as may be seen in the following table:

Region	Average farm wage rates per hour		Percentage, each regional wage rate above or below the national average wage	
	1910–14	1949	1910–14	1949
New England	$0.15	$0.66	+23	+20
Middle Atlantic	.14	.61	+30	+11
East North Central	.13	.59	+25	+ 7
West North Central	.14	.65	+40	+18
South Atlantic	.09	.42	−31	−24
East South Central	.09	.38	−32	−31
West South Central	.11	.51	−16	− 7
Mountain	.16	.66	+48	+20
Pacific	.21	.90	+52	+64
United States	.14	.55		

It appears to us significant that the regions in which farm wages are well below the national average and have been so for 40 years are those regions containing the States in which the major portion of the postwar foreign labor contracting has centered. Florida has been the principal user of British West Indian contract labor and Texas has been the principal user of Mexican contract labor. Both States have wage rates much below the national average. We cannot, therefore, escape the conclusion that demand for foreign labor in these States is in part, at least, due to the desire to keep low wages from rising.

Farm Labor Incomes Are Substandard—Notwithstanding Perquisites

Although one often hears of the high wages that migratory workers can and do earn, careful examination into the facts suggests that such reports are subject to a number of qualifications. For example, the reported earnings apply to better than average workers; or, the reported earnings apply only at the peak of the season and not to the less favorable days at the beginning and the end; or, the earnings that were reported as those of a worker were actually earned by a family work unit with several members contributing. Sometimes, the earnings of packing shed workers are discussed as though they were representative of field workers. Reports of high earnings seldom stand up as typical when the particular instance is brought into the perspective of the whole.

Annual earnings of farm workers as compared to factory workers are even worse than is suggested by the relative wage rates above because factory workers get more continuous employment than do farm workers. Whereas average cash earnings of factory workers in 1949 were $2,600, average earnings for both migratory and nonmigratory farm workers were only slightly more than $500. Thus while average factory workers' wage rates were 2½ times average farm wage rates average annual factory earnings were 5 times average farm earnings.

Farm workers, it is true, have an additional source of income in the perquisites furnished by their employers—usually housing and transportation. But, as we have seen, migratory farm workers have fewer perquisites than the year-round farm employees. The value of perquisites given to migratory workers was estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture to be an average of 36 cents a day. For the 101 days of employment per year of the average migratory worker, this would amount to $36. On the other hand, industrial workers have recently gained important perquisites. These include such items as retirement benefits, sick benefits, holiday pay, and vacation pay which average $120 per year and are increasing.

When all of the factors that enter into making incomes—constancy of employment, wage rates, and "perquisites"—are put together, the comparative situation of agricultural workers and factory workers is as follows:

	Migratory farm worker	Nonmigratory farm worker	Worker in manufacturing
Average days of work 1949	101	120	250
Average rate per day	$5. 10	$4. 40	$10. 40
Cash earnings per year	514. 00	520. 00	2, 600. 00
Value of perquisites	36. 00	60. 00	120. 00
Total earnings	550. 00	580. 00	2, 720. 00

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) The Congress enact minimum wage legislation to cover farm laborers, including migratory laborers.

(2) State legislatures give consideration to the protection of agri-

cultural workers, including migratory farm workers, by minimum wage legislation.

(3) Federal and State unemployment compensation legislation be enacted to cover agricultural labor.

(4) Because present unemployment compensation legislation is not adapted to meeting the unemployment problems of most migratory farm workers, the Federal Social Security Act be amended to provide matching grants to States for general assistance on the condition that no needy person be denied assistance because of lack of legal residence status.

Chapter 8

Housing: "Reasonable Protection Against the Weather"

Housing, or the lack of it, is of basic significance to the problem of migrancy. During the crop period it represents one of the major conditions of employment; at the home base, it directly contributes to rootlessness and irresponsibility. Because housing and the problems associated with it are markedly different in the periods of the year when migrants are traveling, as compared with the periods when they are "at home," we are treating the two separately.

By the expression "housing while on the job," we refer to the housing arrangements attaching to the locations of employment where migrants are working away from "home." By the expression "housing at the home base," we describe the housing arrangements in the locality where the migrants usually remain the longest portion of the year, which, for the most part, is where they spend the winter months, and where they have the greatest feeling of "belonging." In numerous instances "on job" and "home base" situations merge. Typically, however, they are distinguishable.

Whether furnished by the employer or otherwise acquired by the migratory laborer, housing needs vary in accordance with the social and economic characteristics of the migrant. Family groups, which make up the majority of the migratory workers, obviously need housing appropriate to families, but they are seldom in position to buy or rent more than the very minimum of housing or to require that employers furnish it as a condition of accepting employment. Single men, who in the domestic force are few, require simpler housing. The other and larger group of single men, who are alien labor, are imported and employed under contract, and presumably are housed by employers in accordance with the terms of their agreements. Finally, there are the illegal Mexican aliens, fewer in numbers than the domestic family migrants, but more numerous than the total of all the others. Wetbacks are here, both as singles and as families, but, because of financial incapacity as well as legal disability, they are not characteristically in position to demand housing fit for human habitation.

HOUSING WHILE ON THE JOB

Labor Camps

On-job housing consists of barracks, cabins, trailers, tents, rooming houses, auto-court cabins, shack houses, and, on occasion, depreciated standard housing. Regardless of the type of facility, when the units are grouped for two or more families, they are commonly called "camps." Ownership of camps may be by employers, employers' associations, local housing authorities, labor contractors, or private commercial groups. Some are merely squatter camps of which ownership is of no consequence.

Much, if not most, of on-job housing of migratory farm labor in the United States is below minimum standards of decency. While this type of housing may be better in one region than in another, the noteworthy point is that whether it is "good" or "bad" housing, it is far below what is considered adequate for other citizens.

Because of the few months usage of most on-job housing and the poverty of the migrant workers, housing generally rated as "good" is nonetheless meager. "Good" on-job housing for a family of four, five, or six members might consist of an unpainted cabin, 9 by 12 feet, one in a row of such cabins, with one or perhaps two screened windows (though not necessarily with glass) and with unfinished interior walls. The cabin would be equipped with bunks, chairs, and table. It would be fairly clean and free from vermin. The cabin might possibly, but probably would not, have electricity. It could have running water, but this would be unusual. Characteristically, water suitable for drinking would be obtainable from centrally located faucets. Cooking facilities, if existent, would probably be central. Sanitary facilities would be central and clean. In the exceptional case, there would be flush toilets; more often, there would be privies. Central shower facilities would be equipped with hot and cold water. In the better camps, there would be facilities for laundering, though such are not required for a camp to be classified as "good." In a "good" camp, there would be receptacles for garbage which would be regularly emptied, or, if there was a central garbage pit, this would be located at a distance from the cabins. There would be neither garbage nor debris scattered about on the grounds which would likely be bare earth. There would probably be no trees about the cabins so that during the summer months the cabins would be fully exposed to the sun. This, to repeat, would be a "good" camp.

To be "good," a camp is not required to have any provisions or facilities for recreation but it might be located within walking or driving distance of a community center where there would be facilities for recreational activities. If, by chance, a school was nearby, the children of the migrants could attend. If it was not so located, no alternative arrangements would be made for schooling. No arrangements would exist for the care of the small children of the migrants. Since both parents often work, the children would be left to their own devices or would join their parents in the fields. If, as is usually the case, the camp is located beyond the reach of medical and health facilities, it would be unusual if any arrangements existed for regular visits of a nurse or physician.

A series of such "good" camps, or a single such camp, might, if the migrant were fortunate, be his home from 4 to 6 months of the year. If he were so fortunate, he would be one of a minority, because even in those States that officially inspect and rate their camps, less than one-half of the inspected camps are found to be "good."

Labor Camp Codes

A camp such as has just been described might be constructed by an employer desiring an above-average labor supply. Or such an employer might be located in a State with a good labor camp code. Twelve States have specific laws or regulations on labor camps which house, among other groups, agricultural workers. Four States have regulations applying to specified groups exclusive of agricultural workers; 4 others have somewhat limited regulations applying to all camps; 3 States, while having no regulations, exercise certain administrative control over labor camps; and the remaining 25 do not regulate labor camps in any way.

The mere fact that a State has a code does not mean that its labor camp housing meets minimum standards of decency. The inspection records of California, which has had code regulations of labor camps since 1913, indicate that only a fourth to a third of the camps inspected in almost four decades have fully met the designated minimum standards. One major weakness in the California program is the absence of a licensing requirement. This means that the State has no record of the existence or location of the camps which it is charged with inspecting. This fact was recently pointed out in the Report of the Governor's Committee to Survey the Agricultural Labor Resources of the San Joaquin Valley. At best, inspections in California have covered but a portion of the total camps in the State. For 1950, it is reported that inspections were made of about one-third of the estimated number of camps in the State. The standard of housing in the San Joaquin Valley, where the largest number of migrants are employed, was found to be well below the State average for agricultural workers. The Governor's Committee made recommendations looking to improvements in these respects.

In New Jersey, labor camp inspections under the State code reveal much the same results as those of California. Inspection records for the 3-year period 1946–49 (the New Jersey Labor Camp Code was enacted in 1945), indicate that "approvals on first inspections" were given to less than one-fourth of the camps inspected.

New York does not have a rating basis for its inspection program so that it is not possible to make generalizations on adequacy of its labor camps. Although the State prides itself on its inspection program, which calls for fortnightly visits to all camps housing 10 or more persons, a report of a Long Island community appearing in the New York Times, November 26, 1950, indicates that the problems attaching to migrant housing have not yet been fully met in New York. This report began, "The recent death of two children in a fire in a 12-by-20-foot former chicken coop occupied as living quarters by 14 persons has aroused this farming community to action on the problems created by migrant farm laborers."

Housing—An Aspect of Labor Supply

Housing while on the job is supplied principally by the farm employer. If an employer is able to obtain a labor supply without provision of housing, his reaction is likely to be "so much the better." The extent to which an employer is obliged to supply housing in order to get workers varies with the worker's race, nationality, and legal status.

The group in the least advantageous position to make housing a condition of employment is the Mexican wetback. Inasmuch as he is in the country illegally and subject to deportation, he has to take what work he can get, housing or no housing. Striking testimony on the relation of housing to the problems of labor supply generally, and the wetback in particular, was given the Commission by one of the California Deputy State Labor Commissioners at its Los Angeles hearing. During the winter of 1949–50 San Diego County farmers had been unable to attract needed workers because of an absence of housing. Discussions for a public-housing program, which had been going on in the late spring and summer, were abruptly abandoned in August 1950 upon the legalization of large numbers of wetbacks. The Deputy Commissioner stated: "Of course, with this new program of legalizing 30,000 wetbacks it seems to be the feeling among the farmers that the question of housing will be bypassed for the time being."

The same story of the relation of housing to labor supply is told by Nelson and Meyers in their study (1950) of southern Rio Grande Valley agriculture. They write of the farm problems in the Lower Rio Grande Valley in these terms:

> It is believed * * * a program—of wages more nearly like those paid elsewhere in Texas, and [provisions of] housing for agricultural workers would help solve the peak needs for labor. Cotton is picked in the Valley while virtually no activity exists elsewhere in Texas * * *. [Workers] do not come in the Valley * * * for three important reasons. First, *wage rates* in the Valley are in-

> adequate to warrant movements. Secondly, no *housing* facilities exist. Native laborers are unwilling to live "in the brush" as do many if not most of the seasonal illegal entrants. Finally, *failure to enforce entry regulations* gives to the potential citizen migrant no assurance of employment in the Valley which may at any time be flooded with labor. It is believed that the latter two factors are more important than the wage differential * * *. Provision of some sort of housing facilities and assurance of jobs as against illegal entrants are the prerequisites to the recruiting from the pool of native labor * * *. [Emphasis added.]

For foreign contract workers and Puerto Ricans under contract, housing is mentioned in the contract and is made a condition of employment. Examination of the terms of the contracts indicates, however, that standards with enforcement machinery seldom exist. Under terms of the Individual Work Contract negotiated in connection with the International Executive Agreement with Mexico, it is required that hygienic housing similar to that offered to domestic workers be provided. The Individual Work Contract under the heading of "lodging" reads:

> Hygienic lodgings adequate to the climatic conditions of the area of employment and similar to those of the average type which are generally furnished to domestic agricultural workers in the area of employment.

As is noted above, however, only a fraction of the housing furnished to domestic workers in those States having legal minimum standards is approvable. Since the housing in those States that have no standards is undoubtedly worse, the provision of "similar" or "hygienic" lodgings sets no standards and hence means whatever the parties to the agreement or their representatives interpret it to mean.

The other contract workers are the Bahamians, Jamaicans, and the Puerto Ricans. Contracts covering workers from these islands are negotiated by employer groups in the United States with the respective governments or their representatives. These contracts, though their language is extensive, are no more specific in their housing provisions than is the Mexican agreement, and certainly they are no more enforceable.

Where housing is furnished to domestic migratory workers, its quality and condition is designed to reflect the social status of the migratory group the farmer expects to employ. In other words, employers anticipate that groups regarded as socially inferior will be less demanding in what they will accept. Thus, housing for Negroes and Americans of Mexican ancestry is characteristically poorer than the housing offered to "Okie" migrants.

Housing, Wages, and Jobs Are Tied Together in Employer Housing

Not infrequently a migratory worker finds that, to get a job in an area of active seasonal work, he must live in the employer's housing. Once in that housing, he cannot retain the housing and work elsewhere. In some cases employers have threatened eviction even when the worker sought alternative employment only on idle days. In other words, job and housing are a "package" proposition. The worker, in accepting the employer's housing, also accepts whatever work is available and at the same time, the employer's wage rate, whether or not it remains as promised. On such a package proposition, the worker's ability to choose his work and to bargain on wages is materially limited. Testimony on this point was given by a worker in Florida:

> WITNESS. I said they'd be paying or offering to pay 6 or 7 cents a bucket for tomatoes when they should have been paying 10 cents a bucket. . . .
>
> Q. And if they would do that, then you would not work?
>
> A. No, sir.
>
> Q. Do they get people to work when they cut the price down to 6 and 7 cents?
>
> A. Well, those that stay in their own (employers') houses, they would. You see, they couldn't move. They had to stay there. . . .
>
> Q. Then if they could get enough people in their own housing, they wouldn't have to pay more than that?
>
> A. That's right.

At times, this has also happened with employer association housing. A worker from McMinnville, Oregon, protested:

> Why, when a farmer will pay $1 an hour for workers to work in the hay, should a person have to accept 85 cents an hour for workers to work because a small association of farmers, say, work for such and such a farmer or you will have to find another place to live. Places are scarce to find and you simply can't move out into the road.

When an employer houses his labor supply on his premises it is possible for him to hoard labor. A worker so housed has less freedom to use his idle time by working for other employers than he would if his housing were free of employer restrictions. Such restrictions on the movements of the worker are disadvantageous to him and also to the community at large because less effective use is made of the labor supply. When the provision of housing by employers is used to restrict either wage adjustments or freedom of movement by workers, both the individual interest of the worker and the interest of the community in effectively using its labor supply are obstructed.

In this regard, employer association housing represents an advance over individual employer housing. Work opportunities are at least spread over the needs of the whole membership rather than merely one employer. By contrast, public labor-camp housing permits the worker to go to the job offering the most continuous employment and the best wages. The Farm Placement Supervisor of the Idaho State Employment Service testified before the Commission:

> In the handling of this migratory worker, it is hard to utilize him fully unless you have many located from place to place in a strategically located camp, a camp sufficient in size to take care of the normal needs of that community, located so that the farmer can day-haul those workers out of there and that he doesn't have to go across two or three counties and spend the forenoon hauling them to the farm and the afternoon taking them home.

The inseparability of housing from the job has a further important implication, namely, the restriction which it places upon unionization of workers or participation in union activities. A worker housed with other workers in camps on a farm at Delano, California, testified before the Commission:

> We live in the labor camps, and they have the National Farm Labor Union in Delano . . . and it is quite natural response . . . of the boys, that they are afraid to join the union because of the fear of being evicted from their camps. That is one of the several weapons of the farmer that they use to keep the Filipinos out of the union.

Housing and Government Recruitment of Farm Labor

The Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service participates in the recruitment of farm workers. To a very great extent, recruitment involves bringing in out-of-State workers. If the State Employment Service is unable to interest sufficient local workers, it requests the Employment Service of other States and also the Federal Employment Service to supply workers from outside the State. If unsuccessful, the United States Employment Service certifies the need to import foreign workers.

The noteworthy point in this connection is that Government does not assume any responsibilities concerning the conditions of work for which it is recruiting either at the State or Federal level. This was stated to us again and again by the Employment Service. The attitude of recruitment officials toward the conditions of work for which it recruits is illustrated by the following testimony given us by the State Supervisor of the Farm Placement Service in Florida:

> Q. You say the employment service tries to make sure that there is housing for these people? How do you make sure that there is housing? What do you do?
>
> A. That varies greatly. Where it is possible, we inspect. . . .
>
> Q. Of course, you would have no authority if you found * * * any housing inadequate . . . to tell the grower, "You have got to fix this up so and so, and put these beds in," and so on? Would you have such authority?
>
> A. No, sir; none whatever. . . .

> Q. * * * Could you not refuse to refer workers to that farm, if, in your opinion, the housing was in bad shape?
>
> A. That is right.
>
> Q. Do you do that?
>
> A. Yes.
>
> Q. Do you have a standard of housing written up in some way on the basis of which you do that?
>
> A. No; no, sir. In other words, it must be a question of at least reasonable protection against the weather. That is about as far as we can go.

With scarcely any exceptions, Employment Service personnel testified that they saw no advantage in their being given the authority to approve conditions of work prior to recruitment and referral of prospective workers. Mainly, the reason for this position, as explained, was that the Employment Service, being a service agency, did not want its work complicated by the addition of inspection duties which were thought to be "administrative."

HOUSING AT THE HOME BASE

From the standpoint of the local community, one of the shortcomings of domestic migrants is that they stay around after the harvest is ended. The advantage of foreign contract workers (except Puerto Ricans) is that, with the end of the field requirements, they can be sent back whence they came. Unlike domestic migrants, they do not become a burden upon American communities. In their poverty and in their rootlessness, domestic migrants present as much of a social problem during the home base period as during crop operations.

Home base areas are scattered throughout the United States but there are four of key importance. These are: (1) California; (2) southern Texas; (3) northern Texas, Oklahoma, southern Missouri, Arkansas, and northern Louisiana; and (4) Florida.

Home Base Housing

The "permanent" housing in which migrants live for the 6 to 8 months of the year when they are not working on the crops is among the most deplorable in the Nation. Primarily, it is found in shack towns or the shack sections of older communities. A farm laborer testifying before the Commission in Los Angeles described one California shack community in these terms:

> In fact, I do live in an area which you probably read about in the Fresno Chronicle, just outside of the Bakersfield city limits, known as the Mayfair-Sunset district of Cartersville. You have there an area of 15 blocks long and 14 blocks wide with a range between half Mexicans and half Negro, and a population around 7,000 people with-

> out sewerage, without any forms of sanitation whatever, without the enforcement of any county or State sanitation laws. There are, of course, naturally, any number of cardboard and old-plank houses.

Such communities, usually unincorporated, without fire, police, and sanitation service, are to be found throughout California. Beginning in the 1930's, they sprang up the length of the State in "work areas," that is, in areas which have more than one crop operation or where more than one crop is harvested. Primary concentrations are in the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Salinas, and Imperial Valleys. Although the total number of these communities in California is unknown, estimates suggest a two to threefold expansion during the last decade.

Testimony on the condition of migrants' "permanent" housing was received in Texas. A physician who appeared before the Commission at Brownsville described typical migrant "home-base" housing in Texas in these terms:

> Let us take a typical average town and call it "Lodo." Lodo is divided into two sections by a man-made object. Usually it is the railroad tracks, the highway, or a ditch. On the southern side of the town we have the Anglo business center, the hospitals, the Anglo residences * * * the schools * * *. Across the tracks we have that part of town referred to as "Mexiquito" or "Little Mexico" * * *. In "Mexiquito" you will find that the only paved street is the main street * * *, that there are very few decent buildings, that as much as 90 percent of the houses are substandard, that there is no drainage, and the majority of the dwellings still have the primitive open-pit privies. In other words, gentlemen, the "Mexiquito section" of Lodo is one large continuous "slum area" in every sense of the word. Then you multiply "Lodo" by several hundred more towns or cities throughout this area and have a worse slum area than any found in New York, Chicago, or San Francisco * * *. Brownsville, San Benito, Harlingen, Mercedes, La Feria, Weslaco, Donna, Pharr, San Juan, Alamo, Edinburg, Mission, Robstown, Kingsville, Corpus Christi, San Antonio, etc., each and every one of them has its area designated "Mexiquito," which is a glorified name for "slum section."

In Florida "on-job" and "home-base" housing situations merge, for here the seasonal labor demands occur during the winter months. A representative from the West Palm Beach County Department of Public Welfare described one type of "on-job" housing—housing on farms—in these terms:

> Most of them (i. e., the quarters provided by farm owners) do not have running water or adequate toilet facilities. The families are crowded into one or two rooms, and in many instances, we have found upon inspection, farm laborers living in quarters which in a good dairy country such as I come from, you wouldn't place your good-blooded cattle.

This welfare worker's observation was corroborated at the same hearings by the director of the Palm Beach County Health Department who testified:

> You have heard a social worker here this afternoon say that they would not house their family cow in some of that housing. I would like to go on record supporting that statement 100 percent.

The housing in the shack sections of established communities in Florida was found to be deplorable.

Government Low-Income Housing

Because of the direct influence of housing on health and on the individual's role as a citizen, it has become public policy for certain minimum standards to be established, and, where the forces of the market are unable to produce housing which meets these standards, to supplement such market forces. The declaration of policy in the Housing Act of 1949 reads:

> The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation.

A policy of low-rent public housing was initiated in the United States Housing Act of 1937 and expanded in the Housing Act of 1949. Low-rent public housing is designed to provide decent housing at prices within reach of low-income persons, persons whom private enterprise is incapable of serving. The agency responsible for this program is the Public Housing Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Migrants and Public Housing

Inasmuch as migrants are at the bottom of the Nation's low-income groups and are more desperately in need of housing than any other group of similar size in the Nation, it might at first be thought that Government would have given particular attention to their housing needs. This has not been the case. In fact, with respect to permanent private housing, migrants find themselves outside the Government's housing program.

In drafting the 1949 housing legislation, the Congress clearly had in mind the needs of rural nonfarm groups as well as urban groups. A proportion of the funds is earmarked for rural nonfarm use. The Senate Report on the act (in bill form) observes:

> The relative needs of low-income families living in rural nonfarm areas are certainly as great as the needs of low-income families living in urban areas. Your committee therefore contemplates that the Public Housing Administration promptly undertake a program looking to the provision of aid to local authorities wishing to provide low-rent housing in those areas. Ten percent of the authorizations for annual contributions contracts are to be reserved for rural nonfarm housing for a 3-year period after such authorizations become available.

How is it that the group in the Nation most desperately in need of decent housing find themselves outside the Government's housing program? Various answers suggest themselves. The Public Housing Administration conceives of the Government's housing program as not adaptable to short-range needs. Inasmuch as the deplorable situation in which migrants currently find themselves is not regarded as permanent, the Public Housing Administration does not see itself called upon to devise housing expedients for migrants. The Administrator of Public Housing Administration wrote the Commission as follows:

> To the extent that the picture of agricultural labor can be changed, and bettered, so that the families who are now migrants can settle down in one place while the wage earner commutes to various places of nearby agricultural employment, our rural nonfarm program will be of help in solving the problems which your committee is studying. * * * We do not feel the program which we are administering is adaptable either under present legislation, or with reasonable modifications thereof, to meet the needs of truly migrant families who will stay only a relatively short period in a given locality.

Housing as a Factor in the Reduction of Migrancy

We received striking testimony on the "settling" effect of decent, though insufficient, housing. Housing, when it consisted of nothing more than a single room in a labor camp, was found to be a significant factor in the reduction of migrancy. Housing above the camp level was found to be a stronger deterrent to rootlessness. In this regard the experience with the camps built by the Farm Security Administration, a number of which are under temporary Public Housing Administration operation, is illuminating. In testimony at the West Palm Beach hearing, the Executive Director of the Belle Glade Housing Authority, one such camp in Florida, stated:

> We find that in the 10 years that these camps have been operated * * * that, as far as our white migrants are concerned, they have tended to become stable. In other words, some 60 to 70 percent of the people in our white camps are now classified as year-round residents. If they do leave in the summer, they only leave for a relatively

> short period of time. * * * That is a trend from 10 years ago when a good 75 percent of them were migrants to now roughly less than 5 percent * * *.
>
> Now, in the Negro camp . . . it is somewhat the reverse; that is, the Negroes are still highly migratory in nature. There is possibly less than 30 percent whom we classify as year-round residents. There is at least an additional 20 to 25 percent who call Belle Glade . . . and Okeechobee their home and retain housing with us throughout the summer, either by leaving some member of the family back home to keep up the house or they retain a house by paying a slight storage fee, so that they will have a place to return to in the fall of the year.

Similar testimony on housing as a factor in the reduction of migrancy was given by the Secretary-treasurer and Executive Director of the Housing Authority of Pompano Beach, Fla., which camp consists of 158 duplex cabins:

> * * * [The camp] is not much of a migratory labor camp because we have a year-round population of about 85 percent. . . .
>
> Most of them [the migrant workers] have been in the camp since the inception of the camp, which has been in operation about 10 years. There were only 22 families in the camp when I went there. Along about the latter part of 1942 and the first of 1943 the camp filled up and has been full ever since.

Further corroboration of the influence of housing upon the reduction of migrancy is provided by the Director of the Seattle Field Office of the Public Housing Administration. With reference to the labor camps in the Northwest, he stated:

> The families in the permanent homes have, in isolated cases, occupied their dwellings since the camps opened and the average tenure is about 4 years. Recognizing that all of the families in the permanent homes were originally migrant families, I have been surprised to learn that a large number of them, when they settle down, have been able to find nonagricultural occupations which enable them to earn a living during off-season periods, and in some cases, year-round. * * *
>
> I believe that an increasing number of families might drop out of the annual migration if they could find decent housing within their financial means and thereby emulate the example set by the tenants who have located in the permanent homes of the Farm Labor Camps.

The "Particular" Aspects of Home-Base Housing

There are several factors which make it difficult to bring migrant home-base housing needs within the existing public housing legislation. The "particular" aspects of the migrants' situation are:

1. The less than 12-month period of occupancy of home-base housing.
2. The unusual poverty of the people who need housing.
3. The lack of integration into local communities and therefore the

migrant's inability to get local communities to initiate requests for Federal assistance upon his behalf.

The less than 12 months' occupancy of home-base housing is of importance in rental situations where alternative rental opportunities are limited. The attractiveness of the investment is obviously reduced where income is assured for only 6 to 8 months of the year. Among wage earning groups, migrants are distinctive for their poverty. Their income is well below the average of the groups housed in public housing. The extremely low income level raises the parallel question of the level of housing. Simpler housing than that which is being constructed by Public Housing Administration for low income groups generally would appear to be more consistent with the ability of migrants to pay.

Moreover, there is the important consideration that the present Federal Housing Program requires the local public officials to take the initiative in requesting Federal funds before the community can secure Federal aid to improve its housing. This is not easy of accomplishment when the proposed housing is intended for migratory farm workers who are not year-round residents of the community and who, for this and other reasons, have little influence on the policies of the community.

Housing for migrants in the home base situation raises two problems which call for policy decisions: namely, whether such a program should be conceived in terms of "camps" or "house" accommodation, and whether it should include ownership as well as rental housing. The testimony which we received on the relative merits of camp versus house accommodations was conflicting. Speaking from his experience as administrator of one of the Public Housing Administration camps in Florida (where home-base and on-job situations coincide), one camp director, in response to a query from the Commission commented:

> I would say this: That in the event the Federal Government was going to make any contribution toward the housing of migratory labor they can best do it by building these projects and turning them over to local housing agencies to operate.

In contrast to the thinking of this director, the vice chairman of the Housing Commission in the Division of Industrial Relations in the State of California testified at the Los Angeles hearing:

> * * * I am sure that a great majority of the workers in these agricultural industries are heads of families and therefore we should give some attention to decent housing for [them]. * * * I cannot see how you can have any decent family life in these barracks of these camps that we have scattered throughout the State here.

We noted with interest the attention given in certain home-base areas to the advisability of a housing program in ownership terms. The president of the California Cotton Cooperative Association testified before us:

> It is encouraging to meet people who believe in those people [migrants] creating and owning something of their own. True, some of

> the houses they start with aren't probably what they would call first-type housing but is their own, * * * and I think that type of housing is to be encouraged.

Our examination of both on-job and home-base housing indicates that it is grossly inadequate and that this is a major factor in the present difficulty of procuring and holding an adequate labor supply. The evidence is clear that if farm workers were offered housing conditions which met standards of decency, it would be much less difficult to find an adequate labor supply.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) The United States Employment Service not recruit or refer out-of-State agricultural workers, and the Immigration Service not import foreign workers (pursuant to certifications of labor shortage) unless and until:

a. The State in which the workers are to be employed has established minimum housing standards for such workers together with a centralized agency for administration and enforcement of such minimum standards on the basis of periodic inspections. These State housing standards, in their terms and in administration, should not be less than the Federal standards hereinafter provided.

b. The employer or association of employers has been certified as having available housing, which, at recent inspection, has been found to comply at a minimum with the standards for housing of migrant agricultural workers then in force in that State.

(2) Federal minimum standards covering all types of on-job housing for migratory workers moving in interstate or foreign commerce be established and promulgated by the Federal Commission on Migratory Farm Labor. These standards, administered through a State license system, should govern site, shelter, space, lighting, sanitation, cooking equipment, and other facilities relating to maintenance of health and decency.

(3) Any State Employment Service requesting aid of the United States Employment Service in procuring out-of-State workers submit with such request, a statement that the housing being offered meets the Federal standards.

(4) The Agricultural Extension Service in those States using appreciable numbers of migratory workers undertake an educational program for growers concerning design, materials, and layout of housing for farm labor.

(5) The Department of Agriculture be empowered to extend grants-in-aid to States for labor camps in areas of large and sustained

seasonal labor demand provided the States agree to construct and operate such camps under standards promulgated by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor. Since such projects are to be constructed and operated for the principal purpose of housing agricultural workers and their families, preference of occupancy should be given those engaged in seasonal agricultural work. Costs should be defrayed by charges to occupants.

(6) When housing is deficient in areas where there is large seasonal employment of migratory farm workers, but where the seasonal labor need is of short duration, the Department of Agriculture establish transit camp sites without individual housing. These camp sites should be equipped with water, sanitary facilities including showers, laundry, and cooking arrangements. They should be adequately supervised.

(7) The Department of Agriculture be authorized, and supplied with the necessary funds, to extend carefully supervised credit in modest amounts to assist migratory farm workers to acquire or to construct homes in areas where agriculture is in need of a considerable number of seasonal workers during the crop season.

(8) States be encouraged to enact State Housing Codes establishing minimum health and sanitation standards for housing in unincorporated areas.

(9) The Public Housing Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency develop a rural nonfarm housing program to include the housing needs of migrants in their home-base situation.

Chapter 9

Health, Welfare, and Safety

The Executive order directed the Commission to inquire into the "* * * health conditions among migratory workers * * *"

Migratory workers are more subject to sickness and have a higher death rate than most other sections of the population. The United States Public Health Service in 1940 found that interstate family "transients," agricultural and nonagricultural workers alike, had a 74-percent higher disabling illness rate than residents, and unattached "transients" had a rate 45 percent higher. The Service found also, by a comparison of the rates for transients with the rate for "poor" residents, that the rate for transients was 239 per 1,000 persons and for poor residents only 154. The combination of poverty and migration is destructive of the ability to maintain health.

Testimony before the Commission corroborated the earlier findings of the Public Health Service. A representative of the Michigan State Department of Health reported a tuberculosis rate of 19 per 1,000 among migratory agricultural workers in Saginaw County compared with less than 1 per 1,000 among "normal" residents. The Director of Public Health in California reported significantly higher infant mortality in counties with large concentrations of migratory workers than elsewhere. The health officer of Cameron County, Texas, where migratory labor and the wetback traffic combine, reported 83 deaths per 1,000 births, "one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country." State after State, from North to South and from East to West, reports similar stories of the close relationship between migratory farm labor, sickness, disease, and death. Tuberculosis, infant mortality, maternal mortality, dysentery, enteritis, smallpox, typhoid; all are much more prevalent among migratory workers than among the general population.

Statistics Tell Only Part of the Story

The conditions are worse than the statistics indicate. The Public Health Service, impressed by the serious dietary deficiencies it found, reported:

> The record of disabling illnesses * * * is an inadequate measure of the diseases and conditions due to diet deficiencies in that it misses not only such recognizable states of ill health as rickets, scurvy, and pellagra, unless they are disabling, but also those subclinical or "subrecognizable" states due to diet deficiency.

The Children's Bureau found in Hidalgo County, Texas, where migratory labor is prevalent, that among 83 children (between the ages of 6 and 12) in 55 families, 21 were in need of immediate medical care, and for 27 others "medical care was considered to be indicated but less urgent." Yet "to superficial observation" all appeared well.

The diet of migrant farm laborers is as insufficient to maintain health as is their shelter. A physician testifying before the Commission said:

> I can say from the reports of the nurses that we do have dietary deficiency diseases such as pellagra and cases of that have come to my attention—due to a diet consisting of corn meal and perhaps rice and very little else—no vitamins. There are also evidences of merely ordinary starvation among many of these people which the nurses report. . . .
>
> A survey which I made and photographed, in the Mathis, Texas, labor camps, showed that 96 percent of the children in that camp had not consumed any milk whatsoever in the last 6 months. It also showed that 8 out of every 10 adults had not eaten any meat in the last 6 months. * * * The reason given was that they could not afford it with the money they were making.

Migratory Labor and the Public Health

To permit migratory workers to continue to live under conditions now prevailing is to endanger not only the health of the migrants, but the health of the community as well. In the words of the United States Public Health Service:

> The effect of transients on community health is to increase the hazard of ill health to residents and to raise the incidence of most of the communicable diseases. The incidence of tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea, and malaria almost certainly is increased in a community by adding transients to the resident population.

At hearing after hearing across the country, the story of the insanitary conditions of a wage-earning population living in poverty and without roots in the community was laid before us by physicians who spoke out of their own first-hand knowledge. At Fort Collins, Colo., a doctor, who is chairman of the Governor's Committee on Migrant Labor (Colorado), testified about conditions in a large farm labor camp built and formerly operated by the United States Department of Agriculture but now under management of farm employers.

> I have never been as shocked as when I entered the one-room shacks with old iron bedsteads and thin pads, with one shaded bulb, in which as many as eight to ten people sleep, and with an old cook stove, dirt just as thick as you could find it, no toilet facilities, no water facilities. The thing that the camp is proud of is the bank toilets and bank showers, and when I counted up the numbers that were available, when one considers the large number of people that live there in the summer, it's below the lowest possible standard of 30 or 40 years ago, let alone today's standards.

When the United States Public Health Service X-rayed the occupants of this camp in 1949, they found that 115, or 4.2 percent, of the 2,706 migrants examined, showed positive tuberculosis or other pathological condition.

The director of a Florida county health department testified:

> This is an actual observation: A sanitarian reports 180 people living in 60 rooms, with only one toilet stool that works. This has been corrected somewhat by three additional stools which were added by the time of the last inspection. . . .
>
> One of our public health nurses visited a nursery maintained on a private farm and found 48—I did not say 4, I said 48—infants on two double beds. I might add that two of the babies in that location subsequently died.

Members of this Commission personally observed the meager and insanitary living conditions of migrants in many sections of the country. We were deeply disturbed by a realization that in many instances these conditions have persisted for decades without correction. Also that the efforts of Federal, State, and local governments and of agricultural employers during recent years, commendable as they are, have been so ineffective and leave so large a part of the corrective measures still not instituted.

Although migratory farm laborers have more need for medical and hospital care than most other segments of the population, the evidence shows—with some exceptions—that they get the least attention. The fact that migrants, by the nature of their occupation, cannot meet residence requirements, imposed by law or regulation, combines with their poverty to deny them care.

A survey made a decade ago disclosed that only about one-sixth of State and local agencies providing free medical care to destitute persons did so without regard to residence status. Similarly, about one-third of the private agencies imposed no residence restrictions. Except for emergency measures during World War II, we have found no evidence that medical services for nonresidents have significantly improved in the past decade in most parts of the Nation.

The kind of tragedy that may occur to migratory workers is shown in the recent case history of a migratory agricultural labor family in the San Joaquin Valley of California:

> *Inquest:* * * * The body is that of a well-developed, moderately emaciated white male infant—approximately 4 months old * * *
>
> *Father's testimony:* On November 4, he started vomiting but stopped and seemed better. About 9 o'clock on Sunday, the 6th, he was very bad, and we started for the hospital. We took him to the Coalinga Hospital but we didn't have any money and they sent us to the General Hospital in Fresno. We are not familiar with this area and we stopped at the Wallace Sanatorium. We didn't have any money so they sent

> us on to the General Hospital. When we arrived they told us the baby was dead.

The facts we have set down here are not unknown in the communities where they exist, although knowledge of them is not always clear or well-diffused. Likewise, their implications are often not thoroughly understood. Instead of facing the problems frankly, local authorities too often confine their efforts to fixing limitations on local financial responsibility and to avoiding publicity of scandals occurring on their own doorsteps. Community opinions tend to vary from panic, when epidemic diseases in migrant camps threaten the general health, to indifference when no such threat is imminent.

An appeal to the humanity and sympathy of local officials is not enough. Local authorities are not insensitive to the misery of migrants, although under present laws of residence, they are almost helpless to deal with it. When they turn away the sick and undernourished, they do not do so by personal preference, however their actions may appear.

The difficulties standing in the way are largely fiscal. These can be corrected if the Federal and State, rather than the local, units of government, assume the major share of the costs. Localities where the problem is highly concentrated cannot be expected to carry the expense unaided. That is why criticism directed at the localities has not been more productive of results. When public opinion demands Federal and State action, it is likely that results will be forthcoming, but not until then.

Efforts at Improvement

Efforts to promote State action to improve the health of migratory farm workers in Michigan had not been successful up to the time our commission held hearings there. Under interrogation, the head of the State health department testified:

> Q. Has any campaign been undertaken in Michigan to provide medical care or preventive medical attention to this migrant population?
>
> A. No, there has not been. I mean, there have been a few interested groups who have attempted to push it along. For example, Dr. ——— and myself were both on the Interdepartmental Committee on Health, Education and Welfare of Migrant Laborers. However, we are not an official committee. All we can do is to needle people and get classified as "do-gooders." * * * We presented what we thought should be done to the last three governors in succession, and two of them, I guess, put it in the wastepaper basket, and the third one, at least, called us together and we discussed the problem, and at the last regular session of the legislature, an interim committee to investigate the problem of migrant labor was appointed, consisting of some

> members of the Senate and some of the House. So far, they have succeeded in burying it deep, as far it could be buried.

Some States have shown initiative and vigor in meeting the health problem of migratory farm laborers. New Jersey carries on a program under the direction of the State Migratory Labor Board made up of the heads of seven State departments and five public members appointed by the Governor. The Migrant Labor Bureau, under the supervision of the Commissioner of Labor and Industry, inspects the housing used by migratory workers and the department of health maintains five clinics staffed by nine doctors and five nurses, most of them serving part time. These clinics give physical examinations, treat minor ailments, and offer hospitalization to emergency cases.

New York provides for inspection of labor camps and for a special staff of 25 full-time and 6 part-time nurses assisted by county public health nurses. They conduct clinics for migrants, give health examinations, immunization and health education, and take special measures for the control of syphilis. In California and in some other States, the departments of health also have been active. Though their programs at present are not adequate to meet the need, some are showing an alertness to their problems.

Farm employers, particularly where large associations have been organized, are beginning to establish and maintain clinics of their own. The Glassboro Service Association in New Jersey maintains such a clinic and here and there other employers' associations are beginning to make similar provisions.

Needed: A Coordinated Attack on Basic Causes

While low incomes are responsible for many of the nutritional and other health deficiencies among migrants, ignorance, too, is to blame. Educational programs, on a year-round basis, in nutrition, health, and sanitation, and in maternal and child care, can assist materially in improving the health of migrants, and should be undertaken energetically. The Agricultural Extension Services could give leadership in such programs.

The Commission is impressed with the close relation between insanitary living conditions among migrants and poor health. Camps where migratory farm laborers live should be regularly inspected by technically qualified public officers. California assumed the lead in providing for State inspection of employers' camps nearly 40 years ago. But neither there nor in any other State where we had opportunity to make observations was inspection adequate. Insufficient inspecting personnel is one source of inadequacy. Another is statutory limitation of inspection authority to certain types of camps. Many of the worst encampments are beyond the present powers of State authorities.

Even the broadest inspecting powers are insufficient when shortage of shelter is extreme, or the resistance of some employers to standards set by regulation is deferred to by the local community. It is useless to close camps and evict migratory farm laborers when there is no better place for them to go.

Because of the interstate nature of the problems involved, the Federal Government should share responsibility with the States for the development of a health program for migratory workers. The States can reasonably ask employers of migrants, or associations of employers, to bear a share of the costs by providing either physical facilities or funds, or both.

More Machines, More Accident Hazards

The growing trend toward mechanization of agriculture has substantially increased the risk of injury in farm employment. The use of tractors and other machines, of knives and other cutting tools, of high ladders, and of noxious gases in fumigation, as well as the truck transportation of workers on farms and to and from work, have all contributed to make the accident rate in agriculture one of the highest.

Safety programs and workmen's compensation legislation have proved of such benefit to employers and employees in industry that no responsible spokesman for either workers or management would question their value, or seek their repeal. We believe that the benefits of the long experience of industry in promoting safety, and in compensating for injuries, should be extended to laborers in agriculture.

A program of safety, to be effective, must be based not only on laws and regulations, but also on safety training and the spread of technical and popular information. An informed public, prepared to support such a program, is likewise essential.

The United States Departments of Labor and Agriculture, in cooperation with State agencies, can lay the foundations for a safety program in agriculture, and assist thereafter in making it successful.

At present most State workmen's compensation laws exclude agricultural laborers. Thirteen States have taken some steps toward their inclusion. Ohio alone makes coverage compulsory. Five other States make coverage compulsory for certain mechanical or power operations on farms. In four States, farm employers are generally subject to workmen's compensation unless they expressly reject coverage. In three other States, employers are subject to coverage of certain mechanical operations, but they, too, may reject such coverage if they wish.

As in most forms of labor legislation, problems need to be resolved in order to make the laws at once practicable and effective. One difficulty has been that of adapting premium payments to the employment of small numbers of workers and to employment periods of short duration, but neither this difficulty nor others has proved insuperable.

In view of the exposure of migratory farm laborers to the hazards that workmen's compensation legislation is intended to cover, and of the demonstrated benefits of workmen's compensation to both employers and workers, we recommend measures to promote public knowledge of the problem and to encourage appropriate legislation. While enactment of workmen's compensation statutes is within the province of the States, the United States Department of Labor, by reason of long experience, is in position to take the initiative in informing the public on this subject and in assisting administrators of State labor laws to solve problems of applying workmen's compensation to migratory farm laborers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) In amending the Social Security Act to provide matching grants to States for general assistance (as we recommend in chapter 7), provision be made to include medical care on a matching-grant basis for recipients of public assistance on the condition that no person be denied medical care because of the lack of legal residence status.

(2) The Public Health Service Act be amended to provide, under the supervision of the Surgeon General, matching grants to States, to conduct health programs among migratory farm laborers to deal particularly with such diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, diarrhea, enteritis, and dysentery, and to conduct health clinics for migratory farm workers.

(3) The United States Employment Service make no interstate referrals of migratory farm workers unless the representatives of the State requesting the labor shall give evidence in writing that neither the State nor the counties concerned will deny medical care on the grounds of nonresidence, and that migratory workers will be admitted to local hospitals on essentially the same basis as residents of the local community.

(4) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor and the appropriate State agencies undertake studies looking toward the extension of safety and workmen's compensation legislation to farm workers.

(5) The Federal Social Security Act be amended to include migratory farm workers as well as other agricultural workers not now covered under the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program.

Chapter 10

Child Labor

Child labor has all but disappeared from American industry. Only in agriculture does it remain a serious problem. Children work in agriculture today primarily for the same reason they formerly worked in industry—because of poverty in the family. The child's earnings are needed. This is the same reason given years ago why child labor could not be eliminated in industry.

The child labor to which we refer is not the chores and the vacation jobs children perform on their family's farm. The child labor of which we speak is that to be seen in large acreages of peas, snap beans, or cotton where children, sometimes as young as 5 and 6 years, work along with adult members of the family at "stoop" labor. Comprehensive statistics on the magnitude of the child labor problem in agriculture are unobtainable. However, for August 1950, the Bureau of the Census estimated that 190,000 children 10 through 13 years of age and 205,000 of 14 and 15 years of age were working for pay in agriculture. For October 1950, when schools were in session, the Bureau estimated that 150,000 and 165,000 of the above age groups were working. Of the 150,000 in the 10 through 13 age group, 40,000 were not even enrolled in school.

Children work in agriculture because of the need to supplement their parents' earnings and because the compulsory school attendance laws are not enforced. They also work, however, because their parents have no other place to put them during their own working hours. Work in the fields thus becomes a substitute for child care and recreation centers. A third factor is that some employers prefer children as workers.

Numerous persons commenting on child labor in agriculture have underscored the inadequate earnings of the head of the family. A writer on the Spanish-speaking people of Texas said, "The wages which are paid to the migrant laborers are such that the entire family must work in the fields in order to sustain life." A spokesman for the National Child Labor Committee testified to the Commission, "We have found from experience that we can't get rid of child labor so long as economic circumstances create the pressures which force children to work." An investigator of farm labor problems in California reported:

> * * * But the fact is, these workers said, that with the pay for adults so low, it is necessary for the family's survival to get all members possible into the field when there is work. So at the peak labor seasons in various crops, many families travel away from their own neighbor-

> hood for a few weeks, taking their children out of school, and all of them work in the fields as hard as possible to pile up a little money. * * *

Migrant parents are keenly conscious of this need for the earnings of their children. A labor contractor told us:

> * * * the minute you suggest to the families that their children have got to go to school, they will pack up and leave for another area, say, into the cotton.

Children get into the fields not only because of a need for their earnings but also because the parents have no suitable place to leave them during working hours. When parents must work and there are no child-care facilities, children will be taken to the fields and if they are old enough they will be put to work. A representative of the National Child Labor Committee testified:

> * * * we found a long time ago it is not enough just simply to eliminate or outlaw child labor if there aren't any child-care centers where children can be cared for, if there aren't any schools for them to go to, if there aren't any recreational facilities that they can play constructively in. * * *

In certain instances we found that some employers preferred to hire children. Some labor contractors and crew leaders also prefer children, particularly in such crops as cotton, potatoes, berries, and truck crops. There is evidence that some employers have brought pressure on school authorities to allow children to work in the fields. One California labor contractor told us:

> Last year in the tomato harvest, for instance, the school commissioners from Stanislaus County came up, and in fact they even went and swore a warrant against me for actually hiring the kids, letting them work. However, I went to the growers' association and they exerted pressure in regard to leaving them work until such time as the completion of the crop.

Florida children have been used for some years in harvesting strawberries. A considerable portion of the potato harvest in Idaho has depended upon children, and crop vacations during the harvesting season are common. The Idaho Farm Placement Supervisor, in reporting practices in the area, said, "When we dismiss our schools, we use children as soon as they can walk in the potato fields." In Oregon, a personnel director of a large farm said, "In bean picking the best group is a family group—mama, papa, and the kids picking beans."

Some labor contractors and crew leaders specify that they want child as well as adult workers. According to the statement of a Texas labor recruiter, who transports workers to Wyoming and Colorado, "It is necessary to take families because the (private employment) agency in Texas, they won't allow solos. They say the solos refuse to work, and they don't want them. * * * In a lot of cases, the solos have to raise families to come."

Child Labor Laws and Their Enforcement

There are two Federal laws regulating child labor in agriculture. The Sugar Act of 1937, which provides for payments of benefits to growers of sugar beets and sugarcane, states that producers are eligible for full benefit payments only if they do not employ children under 14 years or do not permit those between 14 and 16 to work longer than 8 hours a day. These restrictions do not apply to children whose parents are themselves growers owning 40 percent or more of the crop.

Administration of the child-labor provisions of the Sugar Act is handled by the county offices of the Production and Marketing Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture. Enforcement is, however, in the hands of community committees, which seem to be none too strict in the enforcement of the law. Only nine violations were reported in 1948 and the same number again in 1949. Violating growers are fined $10 per child-day, the fines being deducted from benefit payments. Total fines in the sugar-beet industry of the United States were $150 in 1948 and $200 in 1949.

A more comprehensive Federal law affecting child labor is the Fair Labor Standards Act. The intent of those provisions of the law relating to child labor was to release children from work so that they could go to school. Originally, the law stated that no child below age 16 could be employed while legally required to attend school. Because of wide State-to-State variations in school-attendance laws, it was difficult to carry out the intent of the law, except in a few States. In 1949, therefore, the act was amended to provide that no child below age 16 could be employed in agriculture during school hours.

The United States Department of Labor conducted an intensive educational drive during 1950 to acquaint farm employers, school administrators, and others with these new provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Cooperation was good in many localities but in those areas which had used migrant family labor regularly, and in some areas that had depended on resident children, there was strong objection to the law and to its enforcement. In certain of these localities schools were closed or night classes held in order to circumvent the law.

At our Portland hearing, we received testimony against the 1949 amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act from an Idaho representative of growers of sugar beets, potatoes, and small grains, who said:

> The migratory worker is experiencing new difficulties in that his earning capacity is reduced by not being able to use all of his family under the new child-labor law.

This witness outlined in some detail the reasons why he believed the law should be modified:

> I think probably you will find, in dealing with this class of people, some of them at least, and not all of them, their standard of education

> has been at a minimum and to jump from that to a full course of 9 months out of the year, it is a sudden plunge for them, and their standard of economy and livelihood has been built on a family unit of earning. I have talked with some of these people in different areas, Colorado and Utah, where they aren't in the practice of a school vacation as we are in Idaho, and these migrant workers are just leaving the territory and going back to Texas for some unknown reasons, where they are ignoring the labor law.
>
> Q. Do you think Texas should be made to comply with the child-labor law, or that in Utah they should adopt a policy that the children of migratory workers will be excused from school and only go to school 6 or 7 months instead of 8 or 9?
>
> A. My point is that there should be an amendment or correction so that the families of migrant workers could still be self-supporting. If it meant a reduction of the required school days to 6 months or 7 months, that that be the case, rather than 9 months immediately.
>
> Q. In other words, you want a double standard of school attendance in Idaho; one standard for children of natives, and another standard for children of migrants?
>
> A. I think that would be possible; yes.

Texas opposition to the 1949 amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act is reflected in a bill introduced in Congress in January 1951 (H. R. 1271, 82d Cong., 1st sess.), to amend section 13 (c) of the act. If approved, it would enable local school authorities to set aside the law.

We believe that the children of farm workers should have educational opportunities equal to those of nonfarm children. We believe, therefore, that it would be a backward step to weaken the child-labor provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

State Child-Labor Laws

Only six States have laws with a minimum age for agricultural employment, in and out of school hours. Six other States have a minimum age for such employment during school hours only. Fifteen States have minimum age provisions governing all employment which are broad enough to apply to agriculture during school hours. None of the States, however, has adequately enforced its child-labor laws. New York has a comparatively good investigative and enforcement program at the present time, but in 1949 over 50 percent of those under age 16 employed in agriculture were found to be illegally employed. In most States, lack of funds and personnel are reported as principal reasons for nonenforcement, but there is evidence that the will to enforce is often lacking.

Child-labor standards generally accepted as desirable for both State and Federal legislation include the following: A minimum age of 16 years during school hours, and 14 years during out-of-school hours and vacation periods; for persons under 18, authorized work permits and age certificates, and limitations of work to 8 hours' work per day and 40 per week. Even if such standards were written into law, they would not eliminate child labor in agriculture unless accompanied by vigorous enforcement. Although eradication of child labor is primarily a State responsibility, it is essential that States have the support of strong Federal child-labor legislation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

1. The 1949 child-labor amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act be retained and vigorously enforced.
2. The Fair Labor Standards Act be further amended to restrict the employment of children under 14 years of age on farms outside of school hours.
3. State child-labor laws be brought to a level at least equal to the present Fair Labor Standards Act and made fully applicable to agriculture.
4. The child-labor provisions of the Sugar Act be vigorously enforced.

Chapter 11

Education

The Executive order directed the Commission to inquire into the "* * * educational conditions among migratory workers * * *."

"Speaking broadly," said a Michigan educator, "about the only group in the United States that we do not consistently educate is the migrant child." Migrant children are among those with lowest educational attainments found in the United States. Nor are they likely to get educational opportunities so long as they work during school hours and move from place to place with their parents in search of employment. They suffer also from the discrimination and social stigma which excludes them from full participation in the community.

There have been many recommendations for bringing migrant children into the schools and for bringing the schools to migrant children, but very little has been accomplished. Migratory life involving 4 to 6 months away from home is bound to cut into children's schooling, but their itinerant status is not the only obstacle to their education. School opportunities for migratory children are limited. Inadequate school facilities, community opposition to the admission of migratory children to the schools, discrimination because of color or economic status, family incomes too low to supply necessary clothing and food are among the handicaps under which they suffer. Moreover, poverty compels them to work when other children are in school. Retardation, irregular attendance in school, and emotional disturbance are logical results of their status as migrants. Moreover, nonenforcement of child-labor and compulsory school-attendance laws, crowded schools, lack of teachers, and school facilities are all characteristic of the migrant child's educational environment.

The testimony before this Commission was but an echo of the findings of earlier commissions and investigations, yet little or nothing has been done to find an adequate solution to the educational problems of migrant children.

Local Schools Do Not Serve Nonlocal Children

The fundamental problem in the education of migratory children is that our educational system is based on the principle of local responsibility and control—a sound principle for resident children. The migratory child, because he is itinerant and lacks equal community status, does not fit into the structure of our educational system. The local school district, hard pressed to provide for its own permanent resident children, finds it difficult to make adequate provision for migratory children.

State school funds supplied to local school districts are most frequently allocated on the basis of either a school census or average daily attendance. Migrant children are more likely to be counted in the school census than they are to attend the schools. If allocations of school funds are based on the census, migratory children may be counted even though they do not attend school. By thus increasing the census basis for the allocation of funds, but without attending school, migrant children help to increase the educational benefits available to those who do attend. If, on the other hand, the allocation of funds is based on average daily attendance, in those districts in which attendance and enrollment fluctuate widely because of migrants, school funds are usually too low to provide for peak enrollment needs. So, likewise, are they, if the school census is taken at a time when the migrant children are not on hand to be counted.

Most State school-attendance laws do not apply to migratory children, although in seven States they specifically do apply and in 18 other States the laws are broad enough to include them. In 23 States laws apply specifically to resident children and whether or not these laws are extended to migrants depends upon local interpretation. Under such local interpretation, children without the necessary residence requirements are often excluded. However, in such States nonattendance by migrants is more likely to be due to nonenforcement of the school-attendance laws than to specific exclusion.

While most States have compulsory school-attendance laws, nonenforcement for migrant children is characteristic. Some States—New York, New Jersey, and California for example—have attempted enforcement of the attendance laws by State officers. Generally, however, this is left to the local community which, in the face of inadequate finances and physical facilities as well as social pressures against migrants, finds nonenforcement easier than enforcement.

No Federal agency and very few State agencies have been specifically charged with responsibility for investigating the educational problems of migratory children. There is great need for a comprehensive study of ways and means to deal with this problem.

Educational deficiencies of the children of migratory workers as they move from job to job are similar to those encountered at their home base. For example, in the Texas-North Central States migration, which is primarily Mexican-American, we find that the migrants have little chance to get an education while they are at home in south Texas. Being an area of concentrated wetback traffic, its school problem is aggravated by the presence of children in large numbers who are regarded as not belonging to the community and hence for whom little is done.

The States of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, into which these Texas-Mexicans annually migrate, have endeavored to bring migratory children into their school systems but even with the best of will, they are confronted with a most difficult problem in meeting the educational needs of these young nomads. Not only do they spend but a short time within the State, but they move frequently from one local community to another. Since the bulk of migrant labor comes to these States during the summer months when schools are not in session, this further reduces what they can do.

In the predominantly Negro migratory stream of the Atlantic coast, there are many families with children. These migrants spend the winters at their home base in Florida where families work in various crops. Those who go to school in Florida enter late in the fall and drop out early in the spring. As a group, they are retarded from 2 to 5 years as compared with resident children. Thus, because the children work and the school-attendance laws are poorly enforced, their education while at home is irregular at best. Very few school districts in Florida have made serious attempts to get migrant children into school for the 6 or 7 months they are at home. Some children do not go to school at all during the winter and the summer schools provided are wholly inadequate even if the children were there and could be persuaded to attend.

The northward trek begins in the spring, the families working in from two to six States before returning home in the fall. A majority of them work in New York and New Jersey. These States have made attempts to get migrant children into regular school sessions while they are there and also to provide child-care facilities and summer schools. They are able to reach some of the children, but encounter the same obstacles as do the North Central States in attempting supplementary education for Texas-Mexican children. New Jersey is distinctive in providing additional funds for schools which have migrant children enrolled.

In States where many of the migratory workers have their "home base," as many as 40 percent of all the children of school age do not attend school. The percentage of children of migratory workers not in school in these localities is much larger and may be as high as 60 percent. This situation cannot be explained on a basis of the inability of such States to afford schooling for their resident children, for they are not lacking in economic resources and taxable wealth.

Experimental Efforts

We have said that no comprehensive program for the education of children has been devised; nonetheless, there have been a few experiments that may help to point the way.

For 3 years (1947–49, inclusive), the State of New Jersey operated a 6 weeks' demonstration summer school for migrant children at Freehold. It was successful in providing supplementary school experience for 50 to 70 children each year at a cost of less than $5,000 per year. Although State appropriations for its operation ceased in 1950, the school was continued under the auspices of the New Jersey Council of Churches.

Since the early 1920's, California has made funds available for temporary elementary schools for migrant children. Such a school was built in the 1930's at the Arvin Farm Labor Supply Center. This school was integrated into the community so that both resident and migrant children attended. A number of similar schools were provided in California in areas of migrant concentration. At one time, California experimented also with mobile schools designed to follow the children as they moved from crop to crop. These schools were abandoned when it was found that as they moved, groups of migratory families scattered, thus breaking up the instructional unit. Moreover, this type of school provided no opportunity for community integration, attendance fluctuated widely, and it was found difficult to get qualified teachers.

During the 1940's, Michigan operated a number of summer schools in order to reach a few of the 8,000 migrant children in the State from April to November. None of these schools has been continued. They depended upon local interest and only one used the State aid available to school districts for this purpose. Nevertheless, these schools provided the first schooling some of the migrant children had ever had.

Religious and charitable organizations have worked with migratory children and have carried on programs which include religion, child care, and education. Limited funds and personnel, however, have meant that relatively few migrant children have been reached through this means.

Although these various experiments have not taken root, they have demonstrated that something can be done.

Migratory Adults Need Education and Training

Another area of education which has been neglected is that for adult migrants. The war-production and farm-labor-training programs of World War II reached very few adult migrants. The current educational programs of the Agricultural Extension Service are directed primarily toward stable farm families, although the California Agricultural Extension Service is making a special effort to provide migratory families with instruction in nutrition, cooking, sewing, budgeting, and home management. The Smith-Lever Act, under which the Agricultural Extension Services of all States receive Federal aid, applies to all agricultural people, but almost none of the funds have been used for the benefit of farm labor, either regularly hired or migratory. Practically all vocational school courses are at the high-school or junior-college levels and are located in urban centers. Very few migrants get that far in school or have access to city schools.

Inasmuch as many migrants are unable to read, write, or speak English, the need for adult education is clear. Because their occupational backgrounds are limited, migratory workers also need training for other skills to enable them to secure nonfarm jobs to supplement their earnings and to move out of the migrant labor force. Moreover, as mechanization replaces hand labor, the migratory farm workers will need training for work on machinery as well as for better performance of their present jobs.

We recognize that local authority and local responsibility for education are basic principles of American education. Because of the conflict between the nonlocal character of migratory people and the essentially local character of the school system, it is apparent that supplementary participation by the Federal Government is called for. Federal activities should not, however, compete with or displace locally-provided services.

Education for Migrants—a Must

One of the basic handicaps of migratory farm workers is their lack of opportunity for education.

Hundreds of thousands of the children of migrant workers are today getting little or no education, and they face the prospect of being slightly, if any, better able to improve their earning power and to raise their level of living than have their parents before them. This is no fault of theirs, but is the inevitable result of present public policies in many parts of our Nation. These policies are creating a new generation of persons, inherently as competent as other Americans, but who will be compelled to spend their lives in poverty because the communities in which they spend their childhood do not provide them with even the rudiments of an education.

This Commission wishes to reiterate its conviction that the education of the children of migratory farm workers (and their parents also) is one of the most urgent and most essential of the many steps which the Nation can and should take to improve the lot of migrants who have for so long been deprived of what the rest of us take for granted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

(1) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, through the cooperation of public and private agencies, including the United States

Office of Education, State educational agencies, the National Education Association, universities, and the American Council on Education, develop a plan which will provide an adequate program of education for migratory workers and their children. This may include Federal grants-in-aid to the States.

(2) The Agricultural Extension Services, in fuller discharge of their statutory obligations to the entire farm population, provide educational assistance to agricultural laborers, especially migratory workers, to enable these people to increase their skills and efficiency in agriculture and to improve their personal welfare. The extension services should also give instruction to both farm employers and farm workers on their respective obligations and rights, as well as the opportunities for constructive joint planning, in their respective roles as employers and employees.

The Agricultural Extension Services should expand their home demonstration work to supply the families of farm workers, particularly migratory farm workers, instruction in nutrition, homemaking, infant care, sanitation, and similar subjects.

In substance, the Commission recommends that the Agricultural Extension Services assume the same responsibility for improving the welfare of farm workers as for helping farm operators.

(3) The Federal Government, in accordance with the long-standing policy that agricultural extension work is a joint responsibility of the Federal Government and the several States, share in the cost of the proposed educational program for farm workers and their families.

Chapter 12

A Coordinated Policy and Program for Migratory Farm Labor

The Executive order directed us to inquire concerning:

> Responsibilities now being assumed by Federal, State, county, and municipal authorities with respect to alleviating the conditions among migratory workers, both alien and domestic.

Across the Nation, and in nearly every State in which it is of significance, we have found great concern about migratory farm labor. The public conscience is uneasy. This uneasiness is reflected in literally hundreds of recommendations and suggestions that were made to us. Those who would make no change in the present situation are few.

Farm employers were primarily concerned about the uncertainty and unreliability of their seasonal labor supply. Workers, on the other hand, were concerned about the uncertainty of employment and of earnings, about displacement by alien labor, and about the conditions in which they are compelled to live. Numerous private organizations and groups came before the Commission to testify concerning the problems of the migrants as individuals and as family groups, and the effects of their coming and going on community life. Most of their testimony had to do with the welfare, and with the religious, educational, and civic interests of the migrants. Some were concerned primarily with the immediate aspects of living; others were apprehensive about child labor and child neglect among the migrants.

Representatives of State and local governments, almost without exception, acknowledged the existence of serious problems associated with migratory farm labor, but said that they were unable to deal with them effectively. Lack of legal authority, insufficient funds, community indifference and even hostility are among the obstacles they encounter. "Migratory workers," they say, "are here today and gone tomorrow." Living on the bare edge of subsistence, without financial resources, poorly educated and often illiterate and voteless, the migrants are unable to organize for their own welfare and protection. Without roots in the community and hence unable to meet legal residence requirements, they are usually beyond the reach of the local school, health, and welfare authorities.

Assumption of Responsibility by Private Groups

Without legal authority and with only slender resources, church and welfare groups have, here and there, tried to cope with some of the problems of migrancy. They have provided schools for the children, instruction for the parents in personal hygiene, health and home-making, child care centers, and religious education. Their efforts appear to be generally well received not only by the migrants but also by the employers and by the communities in which they have worked. But in proportion to the magnitude of the problems, the contributions made by these groups are small indeed. Moreover, their activities are of an ameliorative nature only and cannot, therefore, do much to meet the basic needs of migratory farm workers for more stable employment and larger earnings. Many of the projects carried on by these private groups and agencies point the way to more extensive and systematic programs for meeting the needs of migratory workers that might be undertaken by Federal, State, and local governments.

We are pleased to report that many farm employers, individually and as associated groups, are taking more interest in the welfare of migrant workers. One important stimulus in this direction has been the agreements with the foreign governments in which the terms for the contracting of alien nationals for farm employment have stipulated minimum conditions, including employment guarantees and compensation insurance. Having found through experience with foreign labor that such conditions can be met and can contribute to better labor-management relations, farm employers are beginning to appreciate the value of extending comparable guarantees to domestic labor. To meet the terms of the International Agreement with Mexico, and similar requirements of other foreign governments and of Puerto Rico, farm employer associations were formed, and it became apparent that such cooperative arrangements could contribute to more orderly methods of labor recruitment with less loss of money and time to both employers and migrant workers. Farm-employer associations of this kind have begun to pool their alien contract labor needs so that more effective use can be made of the available labor supply which in turn means more continuous employment for the workers. These types of development are basic because they attack the problem at its foundation.

Assumption of Responsibility by Local, State, and Federal Units of Government

Just as there is need for farm employers to make a cooperative and concerted attack on their seasonal labor problem, so is there need for a more systematic and comprehensive approach to the same problem by Federal, State, and local governments. At all levels of government the migratory farm labor problem is dealt with on a piecemeal, day-by-day basis with little or no cooperation or coordination among the various agencies involved. The agencies having responsibilities in housing, education or public health will usually have no responsibility for the recruitment, transportation, or placement of farm workers, nor do these various agencies, as a rule, have any continuing relations with one another. Moreover, the housing, health, education, welfare, and other problems of migratory farm workers are not dealt with as a "package" or as parts of a single comprehensive program. Thus, for example, the housing problem of migratory farm workers is regarded as but a fraction of the total housing program applying to widely disparate groups in the Nation, State, and local community. No single agency is, as a rule, responsible for seeing that the housing for migratory workers is adequate or even meets minimum standards of health, safety, and decency. Since the migrants are unorganized and have no one to speak for them, their needs are easily overlooked by the housing agency whose responsibilities extend to all of the population. Consequently, housing for migrants is likely to be "lost in the shuffle." What is true of housing is also true of education, safety, welfare, and other urgent needs.

Farm migrants are not an easy or convenient group with which to work. In addition to being footloose and on the move, they suffer from language and educational handicaps. They lack community ties. They are not an articulate political group. There is little promise of political reward for a job well done and conversely, since the migrants are politically impotent, there is little political hazard if the job is neglected and left undone. Consequently, to serve the needs of migrants takes effort and a high sense of civic and administrative responsibility, even when the resources are available.

It is a tribute to our American sense of fair play that in spite of the political impotence of migratory farm workers, there is a widespread concern for their welfare among both public and private agencies. There is uneasiness about what is being left undone. Several States within the past few years have appointed fact-finding bodies to investigate and report on the problems of migratory farm labor. Some of these have been partially effective; others were born to live but a brief life of inactivity and then to die. Some were worse than useless because they created the impression that something was being done when actually nothing was being done. Two States—New Jersey and New York—have central coordinating agencies with programs designed particularly for migratory farm workers. Other States—California and Wisconsin, for example—have accomplished a good deal in alleviating the conditions of migratory workers through their regular agencies and departments. In addition, in California, the Governor's Committee to Survey the Agricultural Labor Resources of the San Joaquin Valley has recently completed a comprehensive investigation and submitted constructive recommendations. The Texas Good Neighbor Commission, the Governor's Commission on Human Rights of Wisconsin, the Governor's Committee on Migrant Labor of Colorado, and the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations of Denver have devoted considerable attention to the civic rights and obligations of migrant workers.

Commendable as these various programs are, they, too, serve to illustrate the sporadic and scattered nature of our approach to the problem. Confusion, conflict, failure of communication, and plain "buck-passing" have characterized the relations between Federal, State, and local governments and among the various agencies. Federal officials emphasize the responsibility of State and local governments, while these in turn point to the interstate character of the migratory labor streams and plead their lack of authority and resources to deal adequately with the basic problems involved. Even where genuine efforts are made to deal with the problem at the Federal level, there is a good deal of duplication, inefficiency, and working at cross-purposes.

The major current activities of the Federal Government relating to migratory farm labor are characterized by divided authority, lack of coordination, and the absence of over-all planning. Under pressure to meet urgent demands for seasonal farm labor, the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government have resorted to "emergency" improvisations at considerable cost to the taxpayer.

Integrating General Programs and Specific Needs

Sound public administration in a democracy requires that agencies designed to serve the particular needs of special occupational or income groups in the population be kept at a minimum. Agencies to serve all segments of the population are essential to sound and democratic government. But with such a group as the farm migrants, though their needs are particular and urgent, they are not in good position to make them known and thereby to share in the general service programs of government agencies at all levels.

We do not believe that the answer to the neglected needs of migratory farm workers is to create a new bureau or agency to serve their particular requirements. The Commission is of the opinion that in the long run the needs of migrants can best be met by broadening and extending to them the basic services which are designed to serve the population in general. We are therefore recommending that program responsibilities should be kept in the regular agencies. Something must be done, however, to achieve a more closely integrated approach to the manifold problems of migratory farm workers by these various agencies and to provide a voice for the migrant where none now exists. Consequently, the Commission recommends that a coordinating body be established at the Federal level of Government and also in those States in which migratory labor is a problem of major proportions.

We have endeavored to chart a new and better course. Many of our recommendations are made in principle but not in technical detail. As action is taken on these recommendations, problems requiring study and planning will be encountered. Moreover, the need for coordination of policies and programs is paramount. Government agencies with programs in migratory farm labor and the public should share in the responsibilities of policy and program coordination. The Commission's recommendations are designed to be a coordinated program to meet these objectives and to serve these purposes for the immediate emergency and for the long-range as well.

THE COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS

I. *Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor*

We recommend that:

(1) There be established a Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, to be appointed by and responsible to the President.

(2) The Committee be composed of three public members and one member from each of the following agencies:

Department of Agriculture,
Department of Labor,
Department of State,
Immigration and Naturalization Service, and
Federal Security Agency.

(3) The public members be appointed by the President. One public member should serve full time as chairman and the other two on a part-time basis. The Government representatives should be appointed by the President on the nomination of the heads of the respective agencies. The Committee should have authority, within the limits of its appropriation, to establish such advisory committees as it deems necessary.

(4) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor have the authority and responsibility, with adequate staff and funds to assist, coordinate and stimulate the various agencies of the Government in their activities and policies relating to migratory farm labor, including such investigations and publications as will contribute to an understanding of migratory farm labor problems, and to recommend to the President, from time to time, such changes in administration and legislation as may be required to facilitate improvements in the policies of the Government relating to migratory farm labor. The Committee should undertake such specific responsibilities as are assigned to it in the recommendations set forth in this report and as may be assigned to it by the President.

In general, however, the Committee should have no administrative or operating responsibilities; these should remain within the respective established agencies and departments.

(5) Similar agencies be established in the various States. The responsibilities and the activities of the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor and those of the agencies established in the States should be complementary and not competitive. The State agencies should be encouraged to carry forward those programs in behalf of migratory farm workers which, by their nature, fall within the responsibility of individual States. The Federal Committee will have major concern with interstate, national, and international activities. But at all times there should be close consultation between the Federal and State agencies and a two-way flow of information, suggestions, and effective cooperation.

II. *Migratory Farm Labor in Emergency*

Our investigations of the present farm labor problem and our analysis of this country's experience during the years of World War II and since, point to certain conclusions which to us seem inescapable in the present emergency. We therefore recommend that:

(1) First reliance be placed on using our domestic labor force more effectively.

(2) No special measures be adopted to increase the number of alien contract laborers beyond the number admitted in 1950.

(3) To meet any supplemental needs for agricultural labor that may develop, preference be given to citizens of the offshore possessions of the United States, such as Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

(4) Future efforts be directed toward supplying agricultural labor needs with our own workers and eliminating dependence on foreign labor.

III. *Alien Contract Labor in American Agriculture*

We recommend that:

(1) Foreign labor importation and contracting be under the terms of intergovernmental agreements which should clearly state the conditions and standards of employment under which the foreign workers are to be employed. These should be substantially the same for all countries. No employer, employer's representative or association of employers, or labor contractor should be permitted to contract directly with foreign workers for employment in the United States. This is not intended to preclude employer participation in the selection of qualified workers when all other requirements of legal importation are fulfilled.

(2) The United States-Mexican intergovernmental agreement be in terms that will promote immigration law enforcement. The Department of State should negotiate with the Government of Mexico such a workable international agreement as will assure its operation as the

exclusive channel for the importation of Mexican nationals under contract, free from the competition of illegal migration.

(3) Administration of foreign labor recruiting, contracting, transporting, and agreements be made the direct responsibility of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. This should be the principal contracting agency, and private employers should secure their foreign workers exclusively from the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

(4) The Farm Placement Service of the United States Employment Service certify to the Immigration and Naturalization Service and to the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor when and if labor requirements cannot be filled from domestic sources and the numbers of additional workers needed. On alien contract labor, the United States Employment Service and the various State employment services should be advised by the tripartite advisory council provided for in the Wagner-Peyser Act, or by tripartite subcommittees of the council. However, no certification of shortage of domestic labor should be made unless and until continental domestic labor has been offered the same terms and conditions of employment as are offered to foreign workers. After certifying the need for foreign workers, the United States Employment Service should have no administrative responsibilities in connection with any foreign labor program.

(5) In accordance with the policies of the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, the Immigration and Naturalization Service arrange, subject to the terms of the intergovernmental agreements then in force, for the importation of the number of qualified foreign agricultural workers certified as needed by the United States Employment Service, and transport them to appropriate reception and contracting centers in the United States.

(6) The Immigration and Naturalization Service deliver the imported workers to the farm employers who have submitted the necessary applications and bonds, and who have signed individual work agreements. Employment should be under the general supervision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. An adequate procedure for investigating and resolving complaints and disputes originating from either party should be negotiated in the international agreements and should be incorporated in the standard work contracts. The Immigration and Naturalization Service should be authorized to terminate any contract of employment and remove the workers, and to refuse to furnish foreign workers to any employer or association of employers when there has been repeated or willful violation of previous agreements, or where there is reasonable doubt that the terms of the current agreement are being observed. The Immigration and Naturalization Service should, in the discharge of its obligations, receive such assistance from the United States Employment Service as it may request.

(7) Puerto Rico and Hawaii, as possessions of the United States, be recognized as part of the domestic labor supply, and workers from these Territories be accorded preference over foreign labor in such employment as they are willing and suited to fill.

(8) Where a government-to-government agreement provides for the payment of the prevailing wage to foreign contract workers, this wage be ascertained by public authority after a hearing. The policies, procedures, and responsibilities involved should be determined by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor.

IV. *The Wetback Invasion—Illegal Alien Labor in American Agriculture*

We recommend that:

(1) The Immigration and Naturalization Service be strengthened by (*a*) clear statutory authority to enter places of employment to determine if illegal aliens are employed, (*b*) clear statutory penalties for harboring, concealing, or transporting illegal aliens, and (*c*) increased appropriations for personnel and equipment.

(2) Legislation be enacted making it unlawful to employ aliens illegally in the United States, the sanctions to be (*a*) removal by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of all legally imported labor from any place of employment on which any illegal alien is found employed; (*b*) fine and imprisonment; (*c*) restraining orders and injunctions; and (*d*) prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of any product on which illegal alien labor has worked.

(3) Legalization for employment purposes of aliens illegally in the United States be discontinued and forbidden. This is not intended to interfere with handling of hardship cases as authorized by present immigration laws.

(4) The Department of State seek the active cooperation of the Government of Mexico in a program for eliminating the illegal migration of Mexican workers into the United States by (*a*) the strict enforcement of the Mexican emigration laws, (*b*) preventing the concentration, in areas close to the border, of surplus supplies of Mexican labor, and (*c*) refraining from attempts to obtain legalization for employment in the United States of Mexican workers illegally in this country.

V. *How Migratory Workers Find Employment*

We recommend that:

(1) Federal legislation be enacted to prohibit interstate recruitment of farm labor by crew leaders, labor contractors, employers, employers' agents, and other private recruiting agents except when such agents are licensed by the Department of Labor. The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor should develop appropriate standards for regulating and licensing such private agents.

(2) States enact legislation and establish enforcement machinery to

regulate and license labor contractors, crew leaders, and other private recruiting agents operating intrastate, such legislation to include private solicitors or recruiters operating on a fee or nonfee basis, either part-time or year-round. The standards of regulation should at least equal those established by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor. The recommendations of the Governor's Committee of California suggest the form and content of such State legislation.

(3) The United States Employment Service and the State employment services adopt a policy of refusing to refer workers to crew leaders, labor contractors, or private recruiting agents for employment.

(4) The United States Employment Service adopt regulations and administrative procedures to safeguard interstate recruiting and transporting of workers, by providing that:

(*a*) Terms of employment be reduced to writing, such written terms to contain a provision for the adjustment of grievances.

(*b*) Housing and transportation arrangements available to workers meet the minimum standards established by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor.

(*c*) State employment services shall not recruit farm workers outside their States or assist in bringing farm workers in from other States unless the United States Employment Service is assured that the State does not have the necessary labor available within its own borders.

(5) Neither the United States Employment Service nor State employment services join with employers, employers' associations, or other private recruiting agents in mass advertising for interstate recruitment.

(6) In order to achieve better utilization of the national domestic farm-labor supply, States having legislation restricting recruitment of workers for out-of-State employment (emigrant agent laws) undertake repeal of such legislation.

(7) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor establish transportation standards of safety and comfort (including in-transit rest camps). States should be guided by the transportation standards of the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor as minimum conditions to govern intrastate transportation of migratory farm workers.

(8) The United States Employment Service and the State employment services be advised on farm-labor questions by the tripartite advisory councils as provided for in the Wagner-Peyser Act or by tripartite subcommittees of the councils.

VI. *Employment Management and Labor Relations*

We recommend that:

(1) The Agricultural Extension Service, through its Federal office and in those States where migratory labor has significant proportions, make instruction in farm-labor management and labor relations available to farm employers and to farm employees. The Agricultural Extension Services should also make available advice and counsel for the organizing

of farm-employer associations similar to those sponsored during World War II, which associations should have the purpose of pooling their joint labor needs to promote orderly recruiting, better employer-worker relations, and more continuous employment.

(2) The Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947 be amended to extend coverage to employees on farms having a specified minimum employment.

VII. *Employment, Wages, and Incomes*

We recommend that:

(1) The Congress enact minimum-wage legislation to cover farm laborers, including migratory laborers.

(2) State legislatures give serious consideration to the protection of agricultural workers, including migratory farm workers, by minimum-wage legislation.

(3) Federal and State unemployment compensation legislation be enacted to cover agricultural labor.

(4) Because present unemployment compensation legislation is not adapted to meeting the unemployment problems of most migratory farm workers, the Federal Social Security Act be amended to provide matching grants to States for general assistance on the condition that no needy person be denied assistance because of lack of legal residence status.

VIII. *Housing*

We recommend that:

(1) The United States Employment Service not recruit and refer out-of-State agricultural workers and the Immigration and Naturalization Service not import foreign workers (pursuant to certifications of labor shortage) unless and until:

(*a*) The State in which the workers are to be employed has established minimum housing standards for such workers together with a centralized agency for administration and enforcement of such minimum standards on the basis of periodic inspections. These State housing standards, in their terms and in administration, should not be less than the Federal standards hereinafter provided.

(*b*) The employer or association of employers has been certified as having available housing, which at recent inspection has been found to comply with minimum standards for housing then in force in that State.

(2) Federal minimum standards covering all types of on-job housing for migratory workers moving in interstate or foreign commerce be established and promulgated by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor. These standards, administered through a State license system, should govern site, shelter, space, lighting, sanitation, cooking equipment, and other facilities relating to maintenance of health and decency.

(3) Any State employment service requesting aid of the United States Employment Service in procuring out-of-State workers submit, with such request, a statement that the housing being offered meets the Federal standards.

(4) The Agricultural Extension Service in those States using appreciable numbers of migratory workers undertake an educational program for growers concerning design, materials, and lay-out of housing for farm labor.

(5) The Department of Agriculture be empowered to extend grants-in-aid to States for labor camps in areas of large and sustained seasonal labor demand provided the States agree to construct and operate such camps under standards promulgated by the Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor. Since such projects are to be constructed and operated for the principal purpose of housing agricultural workers and their families, preference of occupancy should be given those engaged in seasonal agricultural work. Costs should be defrayed by charges to occupants.

(6) When housing is deficient in areas where there is large seasonal employment of migratory farm workers, but where the seasonal labor need is of short duration, the Department of Agriculture establish transit camp sites without individual housing. These camp sites should be equipped with water, sanitary facilities including showers, laundry, and cooking arrangements. They should be adequately supervised.

(7) The Department of Agriculture be authorized, and supplied with the necessary funds, to extend carefully supervised credit in modest amounts to assist migratory farm workers to acquire or to construct homes in areas where agriculture is in need of a considerable number of seasonal workers during the crop season.

(8) States be encouraged to enact State housing codes establishing minimum health and sanitation standards for housing in unincorporated areas.

(9) The Public Housing Administration of the Housing and Home Finance Agency develop a rural nonfarm housing program to include housing needs of migrants in their home-base situation.

IX. *Health, Welfare, and Safety*

We recommend that:

(1) In amending the Social Security Act to provide matching grants to States for general assistance (as we recommend in chapter 7), provision be made to include medical care on a matching-grant basis for recipients of public assistance on the condition that no person be denied medical care because of the lack of legal residence status.

(2) The Public Health Service Act be amended to provide, under the supervision of the Surgeon General, matching grants to States, to conduct health programs among migratory farm laborers to deal particularly with

such diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, diarrhea, enteritis, and dysentery, and to conduct health clinics for migratory farm workers.

(3) The United States Employment Service make no interstate referrals of migratory farm workers unless the representative of the State requesting the labor shall give evidence in writing that neither the State nor the counties concerned will deny medical care on the grounds of nonresidence, and that migratory workers will be admitted to local hospitals on essentially the same basis as residents of the local community.

(4) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor and the appropriate State agencies undertake studies looking toward the extension of safety and workmen's compensation legislation to farm workers.

(5) The Federal Social Security Act be amended to include migratory farm workers as well as other agricultural workers not now covered under the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program.

X. *Child Labor*

We recommend that:

(1) The 1949 child-labor amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act be retained and vigorously enforced.

(2) The Fair Labor Standards Act be further amended to restrict the employment of children under 14 years of age on farms outside of school hours.

(3) State child-labor laws be brought to a level at least equal to the present Fair Labor Standards Act and made fully applicable to agriculture.

(4) The child-labor provisions of the Sugar Act be vigorously enforced.

XI. *Education*

We recommend that:

(1) The Federal Committee on Migratory Farm Labor, through the cooperation of public and private agencies, including the United States Office of Education, State educational agencies, the National Education Association, universities, and the American Council on Education, develop a plan which will provide an adequate program of education for migratory workers and their children. This may include Federal grants-in-aid to the States.

(2) The Agricultural Extension Services, in fuller discharge of their statutory obligations to the entire farm population, provide educational assistance to agricultural laborers, especially migratory workers, to enable these people to increase their skills and efficiency in agriculture and to improve their personal welfare. The Extension Services should also give instructions to both farm employers and farm workers on their respective obligations and rights, as well as the opportunities for constructive joint planning in their respective roles as employers and employees.

The Agricultural Extension Services should expand their home demonstration work to supply the families of farm workers, particularly migratory farm workers, instruction in nutrition, homemaking, infant care, sanitation, and similar subjects.

In substance, the Commission recommends that the Agricultural Extension Services assume the same responsibility for improving the welfare of farm workers as for helping farm operators.

(3) The Federal Government, in accordance with the long-standing policy that agricultural extension work is a joint responsibility of the Federal Government and the several States, share in the cost of the proposed educational program for farm workers and their families.

Appendix

The Executive Orders

Executive Order No. 10129, Establishing the President's Commission on Migratory Labor

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is herby ordered as follows:

1. There is hereby created a Commission to be known as the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be designated by the President.

2. The Commission is authorized and directed to inquire into

(*a*) social, economic, health, and educational conditions among migratory workers, both alien and domestic, in the United States;

(*b*) problems created by the migration of workers, for temporary employment, into the United States, pursuant to the immigration laws or otherwise;

(*c*) responsibilities now being assumed by Federal, State, county, and municipal authorities with respect to alleviating the conditions among migratory workers, both alien and domestic;

(*d*) whether sufficient numbers of local and migratory workers can be obtained from domestic sources to meet agricultural labor needs and, if not, the extent to which the temporary employment of foreign workers may be required to supplement the domestic labor supply; and

(*e*) the extent of illegal migration of foreign workers into the United States and the problems created thereby, and whether, and in what respect, current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to eliminate such illegal migration.

3. The Commission shall make a report of its studies to the President in writing not later than December 15, 1950, including its recommendations for governmental action, either legislative or administrative.

4. In connection with its studies and inquiries, the Commission is authorized to hold such public hearings and to hear such witnesses as it deems appropriate.

5. To the extent that the studies, inquiries, and recommendations of the Commission involve considerations of international arrangements and policies the Commission shall consult with the Department of State.

6. All executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government are authorized and directed to cooperate with the Commission in its work

and to furnish the Commission such information and assistance, not inconsistent with law, as it may require in the performance of its duties.

7. During the fiscal year 1950, the compensation of the members of the Commission (including traveling expenses and per-diem allowances) and the expenditures of the Commission shall be paid out of an allotment made by the President from the appropriation appearing under the heading "Emergency Fund for the President" in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1950 (Public Law 266, approved August 24, 1949); and during the fiscal year 1951 such compensation and expenditures shall be similarly paid from any corresponding or like appropriation made available for the fiscal year 1951. Such payments shall be made without regard to the provisions of section 3681 of the Revised Statutes (31 U. S. C. 672), section 9 of the act of March 4, 1909, 35 Stat. 1027 (31 U. S. C. 673) and such other provisions of law as the President may hereafter specify.

8. Thirty days after rendition of its report to the President, the Commission shall cease to exist unless otherwise determined by further Executive Order.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 3, 1950.

Executive Order No. 10192, amending Executive Order No. 10129 of June 3, 1950, entitled "Establishing the President's Commission on Migratory Labor"

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered that Executive Order No. 10129 of June 3, 1950, be, and it is hereby, amended as follows:

1. The date "December 15, 1950," in paragraph numbered 3 is amended to read "March 1, 1951."

2. The words "thirty days" in paragraph numbered 8 are amended to read "sixty days."

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
December 15, 1950.

The USA Needs to Correct the Underlying Causes, Not Just Apply Band-Aids, to the Problems of Mexican-American Migrant Farm Workers

(Statement Submitted to the Senate Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor by Wm. Noble Clark, Associate Director Emeritus, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, May, 1970.)

For many reasons, and especially because I have had official as well as personal relationships with the problems of Mexican-American migrant farm workers and their families duroing the past two decades, I am appreciative of the invitation to submit this statement to your Committee.* I shall not attempt to document what I say, because of the need to be brief. However, I am prepared, if necessary, to list the sources of my statements. My thirty years as a research administrator in a university taught me the importance of this.

In a further effort to save the time of the Committee, my chief conclusions and recommendations are summarized in the beginning section of my statement.

Mexican-American migrant farm workers have my admiration for their loyalty to our nation, for their innate abilities, their fortitude, and their great patience in the face of intolerable delays in securing the basic personal benefits and public services the rest of us take for granted. I hope the Congress acts constructively and promptly.

MY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There should be created by the Congress an official commission or investigative body which will include some Mexican-Americans to conduct the appropriate *field* research to check the statements and recommendations that others as well as I have filed with your Committee. There is need for concise and specific recommendations for action by the Congress, the Executive Branch of our government, the official state agencies, and the appropriate private organizations.
2. The American public should be informed whether the U.S. Department of State, as widely believed along the Mexican-U.S. border, wants to placate the Mexican government by continuing the system of "green-card" holders who legally are permitted to move freely with their families back and forth across the border, and who willingly accept lower rates of pay than resident Mexican-Americans. There is need for more convincing evidence than has been publicly released as to why the "green-card" policies and procedures should now be continued. Today our nation has a large surplus of unskilled workers, many thousands of whom are unemployed, and even more of whom are underemployed. We also have special reasons to cansider our inability in recent years to find jobs for so large a portion of the many Mexican-Americans who already are residing in the United States.
3. The Congress should supply the Border Control and the Immigration Service with the manpower and money to do their jobs. These important federal agencies do not have sufficient Congressional support now. There is a widespread belief that American employers, particularly those close to the border who benefit from the entry of illegal immigrants, are so influential the Congress will not appropriate even the minimum amounts required to create respect and acceptance on both sides of the border for the U.S. immigration laws.
4. The Congress should amend the child labor laws to forbid children under 16 years of age from working on farms, other than on farms operated by their parents, whenever such children are unable to supply suitable documentary evidence that they attended school in their home community throughout the preceding school year, and in no case less than eight months. The purpose will be to prevent migrant farm parents from taking their children out of school in the spring before the regular school year closes, or from delaying the return of these migrant children in the fall until after the school has opened.

Lack of education which would enable children of migrants to qualify for better jobs than are available to unskilled farm labor like their parents, is truly the most critical factor preventing the great majority of migrant children from rising above the low occupational and economic levels of their parents. Thousands of these children cannot now secure an effective education because of their migrant way of life. Hence they cannot qualify for better paying jobs. It is just as simple as that.

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*Mr. Clark was a member of the 1950–51 President's Commission on Migratory Farm Labor. He is familiar with Wisconsin's use of migrant farm workers. During the last five winter seasons he has lived on the USA-Mexican Border, and has conferred with U.S. Employment Service officials, border guard administrators, those in charge of Immigration Service activities on the border, and with Texas leaders in educational work with migrant families. He is the former Chairman of the Agricultural Policy committee of the Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities. In 1948 he was the deputy director-general of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Efforts to improve the life of migrants and their children by providing safer transportation, better housing, access to medical and dental services, day care and pre-school education for younger children, higher rates of pay, etc., have long been the goals of many private organizations and public agencies. Many millions of dollars are spent annually by these charitable and well intentioned activities. Unquestionably many of these programs have been helpful to migrants at certain times and places.

These aids to migrant workers and their children have regrettably not been directed at the basic causes of migrant farm labor misfortune. Indefensible and preventable consequences will continue as long as young children of migrant parents are permitted to be away from their home schools during the regular school year. No combination of "cosmetic" or "band-aid" therapy applied to the obvious undesirable aspects of farm labor migrancy as a way of life can take the place of the kind of education for migrant children that our nation has declared is the right of every American child.

Special schools operated in mid-winter in Texas for migrant children should be recognized as wholly inadequate to train younsters for successful participation in present-day America. Such schools attempt to speed up during a five-month period the instruction that takes eight or nine months for pupils who live in the home community during the entire school year. Young children come to the school for migrants earlier in the morning, have short recesses and noon hours, stay an hour or so later before going home, attend school on Saturdays, have no vacation except on Christmas Day, and in other ways accumulate almost as many hours in school in five months as other children do in eight or nine months. This is just another example of "separate but *not* equal" schooling.

Children who complete these special schools, which are of several kinds, are not enabled to go on to the upper grades or to high school without special tutoring or additional school attendance of some kind. Few attempt high school, or even get beyond sixth or seventh grade. They are discouraged when they cannot keep up with pupils of their own age. They frequently become dropouts because they feel hopelessly handicapped when they realize the requirements of a successful academic or vocational education.

Many millions of federal dollars are being spent annually on educationally inadequate special programs which carry labels that imply they will help migrant children to lift themselves out of the migrant way of life of their parents. The sad fact is that after decades of public and private efforts to help migrants rise from their low economic status, they are still among the most underprivileged groups in our nation.

5. Responsibility for enacting legislation that will keep children under 16 off the long trips north and out of the fields during the regular school year rests directly on the Congress. Child labor is cheaper than adult labor. Employers recruit families with many children because this lowers their labor costs. A single state which might attempt to prevent children under 16 from doing field work, when they should be in their home state schools, will be opposed by their local farm operators and growers. No state legislature finds it easy to enact even the most enlightened labor regulations if by so doing the employers in their state are forced to pay higher labor costs than their competitors in other states.

By contrast, federal regulations that apply to all states do not give advantages to the states which fail to enact their own legislation that will protect and promote the welfare and education of children who should be in school. There is precedent, too, in the federal regulations that have restricted the employment of young children in the production of sugar beets. Likewise, it has been illegal in recent years to employ children under 16 at any time in a food processing plant. A short and simple amendment, covering employment in the field, could be enforced by the same inspectors who examine labor records in the plants to which the harvested vegetables and fruits are brought for packing or processing.

Fruit and vegetable growers have replaced many migrant farm workrs by the use of recently developed machinery. Some crops still require hand labor, and migrant workers continue to have an essential role in fruit and vegetable production, but in smaller numbers than before. Nevertheless, this does not imply that child labor is any more required in American agriculture than in urban industry. There are plenty of willing workers to take care of the needs of American farm operators—and still protect boys and girls under 16 who should remain in thir hom communitis during the entire school year. There is no more reason to permit young children to work in the fields when their home school is in session than there was for English parents 150 years ago to send their young boys into the coal mines. The challenge to stop this rests squarely on the U.S. Congress.

No employer should attempt to rationalize or to make himself believe he is truly helping, or really benefiting, a migrant family when he employs a child under 16 who is encouraged or required to be away from the regular school in his home community while this school is in session, or for a period of at least eight months.

6. Today many Americans are rightly concerned about the multiple ill effects that face our nation between now and the year 2000 when the U.S. will probably have 100 million additional population. There is no need to list these impending difficulties associated with the "population explosion." Support is growing for the adoption by Americans of the two-child family concept. The need is urgent for a much wider support of this goal. The hope is there will be greatly increased recognition by our citizens of the grave consequences sure to occur if our nation's rate of population growth is effectively slowed. Public acceptance of the two-child family will win new force when the enormous costs of controlling all kinds of pollution—water, soil, air, and all the rest—become uncomfortably apparent to taxpayers.

The Congress and the Executive Brances of our government will find it hard to give lip service to the two-child concept if they continue to ignore or to permit to continue the many thousands of annual legal and illegal entries of unskilled workers and their families from Mexico. Crowded Mexico, with its frightening annual increase in population of 3.0 to 3.5%, has nearly the highest rate of population increase of any nation. The U.S. is already over-supplied with unskilled workers we do not know how to employ, to house, and to supply with their other necessities. We have made a regrettable incomplete job of employing, educating, and assimilating the large numbers of uninvited Mexicans who have in recent decades slipped across our thin and porous southern boundary. How can you and I urge our precent 200 + million fellow Americans on this side of the border to restrict their families to the two-child pattern, and at the same time continue our ineffective protection of our Souhern Border?

The United States has much sympathy for individual Mexicans who find intolerable the employment and living conditions of their native country. But it is the Mexican government, not the USA, which is responsible for correcting the tragic results which inevitably accompany the Mexican population explosion. Already over-crowded, Mexico will double its population before the year 2000. The catastrophe of too many people for Mexico to feed, clothe, employ and educate cannot be solved by the United States. The policies and procedures so desperately required can only be planned and carried out by Mexicans and the Mexican government.

The U.S.-Mexican Border, as now administered, will have minor influence in relieving the population explosion in Mexico. On the other hand, continuance of the present irrational and indefensible policies and procedures of enforcement of our immigration regulations, can, and almost certainly will, create an enormously difficult and internationally embarrassing American dilemma.

We already have more perplexing and frustrating national problems than we have learned how to cope with. Effective enforcement of the U.S. immigration laws and regulations is clearly in our national interest. Such action is long overdue—particularly along the U.S.–Mexican Border. Our government should move promptly, because further delay will surely make more difficult whatever we can and should do.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON WHICH THE ABOVE RECOMMENDATIONS ARE BASED

Wet-backs and Broceros were major issues in 1950 when President Truman appointed his Commission On Migrant Farm Labor. With the publicity focused upon them and the assistance of Congress these controversial activities gradually became less troublesome. The central issue in the 1950's was the lax policy and procedures to reglate the entry, both legal and illegal, of unskilled and uneducated Mexicans who eagerly sought jobs on U.S. farms and ranches. These unfortunate citizens of our neighboring republic gladly accepted employment at wages substantially below our USA standards, and under working conditions which American public opinion widely declared was indefensible for our nation to permit. It was the American conscience that largely compelled our government and the relatively few employers who were the beneficiaries of the "arrangements," to cease importing broceros as contract laborers, and to be less obvious in their employment of Wet-Backs who had illegally crossed the Border into our country.

Today the old problems and illegal activities along the Border have returned in new form. U.S. officials along the Rio Grande freely state their conviction the conditions they now confront have come "full-circle"; likewise, they assert, the difficulties are each year becoming less manageable. Large numbers (no one knows the exact figures) of illegal immigrants are crossing the US-Mexican Border. They quickly become scattered and "lost" in our big nation. These unfortunate refugees from tragic unemployment and poverty in their native Mexico are no longer called Wet-Backs. They do not have to wade the Rio Grande in the dark of night. They walk and ride over the bridges in daylight. Our U.S. regulations permit many of them to do so as "green card" holders who are entitled to bring members of their families. Many others secure visitor permits at the Border. Once these "visitors" arrive in the U.S., they forget to return to their native country. Our officials guarding the Border have neither the manpower nor funds with which to enforce effectively the loosely drawn regulations. It is understandable that so many residents of the Rio Grande Valley, on both sides of the river, have come to believe our American laws and governmental regulations are either unenforceable, or were often enacted for appearance sake, but not intended to be carried into effect.

No one should judge harshly the behavior of these Mexicans who seek employment, food, and a future in the U.S. Mexico has wholly inadequate employment opportunities for its over 50 million population. The available data indicate annual increases in population of 3.4%; about as high a rate of increase as any modern nation. This rate promises to double the Mexican population before the year 2000. The rural areas of Mexico are acutely short of undeveloped, but potentially productive, farm land. Irrigation water has long been inadequate to supply many of the present crop acres. Unemployed and hungry rural people crowd into the cities which are already desperately short of housing. There is little or no urban employment for these rural people who most often are illiterate, and have no industrial or urban skills. These and other economic difficulties inside of Mexico are powerful factors *pushing* unskilled, unemployed workers out of Mexico to their only outside employment—flight into the United States. The *pull* of the U.S. which attracts these unfortunate people is also powerful, especially the economic opportunities here.

U.S. employers, perhaps as high as 75% of them, in many areas adjacent to the Rio Grande and even sometimes for considerable distances to the north, are widely believed to pay Mexican-Americans less than the federal and state minimum wages. "Green card" holders are willing to accept even lower rates of pay. Illegal immigrants from Mexico get still less. But this pittance is an improvement over employment opportunities in much of rural Mexico.

The very low wage rates so common in the Rio Grande Valley of the U.S. provide a powerful economic benefit to employers who take advantage of the lax enforcement of minimum wage regulations. Their expenditures for labor are much less than their competitors in other sections of the U.S. where minimum wage regulations are enforced. Efforts of the Farm Workers Union to organize farm workers in the Valley and seek higher wages are blocked by the almost unlimited number of local workers and illegal imigrants who eagerly desire employment at wages even lower than federal and state minimums. Because employers on the U.S. side of the Rio Grande are beneficiaries of the local over-supply of farm workers, they often look upon the current situation as desirable, and will not give much support to federal congressmen, let alone the U.S. Border Control officers, who seek to tighten the enforcement of U.S. regulations covering entry of illegal immigrants.

The Mexican government has welcomed the American dollars earned in the U.S. which "green card" holders bring to their Mexican homes and communities. This is understandable. A relatively recent special arrangement between the Mexican government and the U.S. gives substantial inducements to American business organizations which establish assembly plants in Mexico, close to the Border. With the encouragement of the Mexican government, beginning in June, 1966, the number of these American-owned assembly-plants had grown to 147 by July 1969. Authorized American investments in these plants had reached over $14 million, and were expected to employ nearly 16,000 workers, many of them women.

Our U.S. government has not officially encouraged American industries to build these assembly plants in Mexico. However, our tariff duties on items assembled abroad from parts manufactured in the U.S. and shipped to the assembly plants in other countries, such as Mexico, apply only to the extent of the values of the final products are increased by the assembly procedures. The incentive to American business organizations is to secure Mexican labor at wage rates much below those which obtain in the U.S. This saving in labor costs can be very substantial. For example, in Ciudad Juarez, opposite El Paso, Texas, the minimum daily wage for unskilled labor is $2.84. This compares with the U.S. average minimum daily wage of $12.80, before fringe benefits. Electrical and textile products are examples of assembly-plant operations. In 1968, the value of imports into the U.S. from American assembly-plants in Mexico had reached $237 million. Mexican law forbids the selling in Mexico of any articles made in these American-owned assembly-plants.

American business concerns show growing interest in expanding the number and output of their assembly-plants in Mexico. This is not surprising. However, there are questions the public is asking. For example, why should our U.S. business organizations erect plants and create employment opportunities in Mexico when there are many thousands of workers on the U.S. side of the Border who would welcome and much benefit from employment in plants erected on the north side of the Rio Grande?

The wage rates along the U.S. side of the Border are low compared with almost all other areas in the U.S., but they are much above the $2.84 to $3.00 daily wages on the Mexican side of the Border. Meanwhile, very large sums of public welfare funds of various kinds are being spent to help alleviate underemployment along the U.S. side of the Border. The American-owned assembly-plants in Mexico cannot possibly supply significant relief for the enormous problems faced by the mounting millions of unemployed persons in Mexico. On the other hand, these American-owned plants could greatly benefit under-privileged families on the American side of the Rio Grande if our government provided effective enforcement of our U.S. immigration regulations .

Labor unions, churches, state and federal welfare agencies, and innumerable private individuals try to alleviate the hunger and misfortune of unemployed and poorly paid Mexican-Americans. Their efforts are well-intentioned, but too often fail to bring about substantial correction of the underlying factors responsible for the problems faced by the Spanish speaking residents along our Southwest Border. Band-aid therapy with the kindest of intentions is simply not enough. It often distracts attention, and thus delays, long needed action to correct basic causes of the problems these Mexican-Americans face in our English speaking communities. Providing short term special schools for migrant children, pre-school nurseries in Texas or in states to the north where migrant families are seasonally employed, food allotments and food stamps, welfare payments to families that are semi-destitute—all these and other contributions of public and private agencies and individuals—do not correct the basic causes of the distress of Mexican-Americans. Their misfortunes come to them largely because they are unemployed, underemployed, or paid below the federal minimum wage rates.

Residents of the countries close to the Border know most of the thousands of Mexican-American youth in their communities who reach employment age must seek jobs outside of the Valley: Agriculture, both in the Valley and elsewhere in the U.S., is providing less employment than before, because of increased mechanization on farms and ranches. There are very few local non-farm industries near the Border that employ significant numbers of unskilled workers. It is a tragedy that so few of the young Mexican-Americans secure education or training to qualify for jobs that represent a meaningful improvement over the annual trek to the north of six months or so as migrants in repetition of the precarious and low paid labor of their parents and grandparents.

Some way should be found soon to break this deplorable cycle. Much better education for the children of migrant families may not be a cure-all, it certainly is the first essential. It is the U.S. Congress which can make this possible. It need not require federal expenditures beyond the present special funds earmarked for aid to migrant farm worker families. All that is necessary is enactment of the requirement that children under 16 years (I wish the figure was 17 years) cannot be employed as farm workers, except on lands operated by their parents, unless they have official documents certifying they were in attendance at their home school throughout the entire previous school year, and in any case at least 8 months.

One final issue deserves national study and attention. Certain well-meaning and influential residents in the countries adjacent to the Mexican Border have come to believe there is little likelihood, or even possibility, that the U.S. government will have the courage or the continued determination to enforce the U.S. immigration laws and regulations along our Border with Mexico. These people are convinced the illegal entry of refugees from Mexico is bound to continue. The continued influx of new immigrants will make impossible any effective assimilation and complete Americanization of the Mexican-Americans already within our borders plus those who will continue to gain entry—legally or otherwise.

The proposal is being openly made that areas along our Southwest Border should be recognized as having special and much needed opportunity, if not obligation, to provide a transition zone between Mexico and the U.S. This would frankly be a bilingual and distinctive variation of our practices and achievements for 200 years in Americanization of earlier groups of immigrants such as the Germans, Scandinavians, Poles, Italians, Japanese and others. Spanish would be taught in the lower grades, even before many of the young children obtained a speaking knowledge of English. Educational goals would include, and even emphasize, the history and culture of Mexico and Spain. There would be an effort to create pride in being of Mexican heritage and culture. The advocates of this departure from our long-vaunted pride in the American melting pot and the rapid Americanization of immigrants from other nations, insist they are justified in their proposals because of the immediate proximity of the millions of unfortunate Mexicans just across our long border with our neighbor nation to the South.

It is not surprising that this proposal, still in unclear form, has appeal to some Mexican-Americans and also to some Americans of non-Mexican inheritance, who now enjoy important economic and other advantages from the continued presence of low income Mexicans or Mexican-Americans, who provide an effective brake to any development which would result in raising wage levels for unskilled workers along the Border. It needs to be said that generations of Mexican-Americans have shown eagerness to become Americanized, and to achieve acceptance as being no different than other groups that have won American citizenship. It is a matter of pride that Mexican-Americans have volunteered for military service in the U.S. in numbers that put them equal or above any comparable group. They have won wide distinction and many awards for valor.

The advocates of a Spanish-Mexican-American transition zone along the Rio Grande are quick to deny they seek the creation in our nation of a separatist group like the French-Canadians in Quebec. But what they propose seems to have many of the purposes and goals that would tend to bring about for a period indefinitely into the future a hyphenated area and a bilingual population and culture along our Southern Border.

Statement By Paul S. Taylor Submitted To Senate Subcommittee On Migratory Labor, August 20, 1970.

1. My name is Paul S. Taylor and I reside in Berkeley, California. Since the late 1920's I have studied field conditions among migratory agricultural laborers, a class of workers with whom I had been familiar as a youth in the Middle Western wheat belt. From time to time I have published studies and given testimony before Congressional Committees on this subject. The present statement represents my personal views.

2. The disadvantaged conditions of migratory agricultural workers can be better understood by examining the critical relation between these conditions and the concentration of land-ownership among those who employ the workers.

3. The thesis of this statement can be summarized:

(a) The powerful influence of employing interests that rest upon concentrated landownership generally is, and for a long time has been, resistant to certain measures that would moderate the severity of the conditions of migratory laborers, notably.

- (1) extending the public protections of social legislation to agricultural workers;
- (2) extending the self-protection of unionization to agricultural workers; and
- (3) extending the opportunities for individual advancement from laborer to landowner offered by historic national land policy carried forward into areas of public water development by the antimonopoly (160-acre) provisions of reclamation law.

(b) Widespread landownership, advantageous to migratory workers and to society alike, can be achieved under reclamation; for example,

- (1) by restoring integrity to administration of the 160-acre law, and
- (2) by authorizing Government purchase of lands the public is about to reclaim.

4. The problems presented to society by the existence of a migratory labor class that are the concern of this Senate Subcommittee have been with us for a long time. The "peculiar and dangerous" character of a land system nourishing such a labor class was observed in California as early as the 1880's by the distinguished British observer James Bryce. (James Bryce, American Commonwealth, Chapter XC, Kearneyism in California, 1, The character of California.)

When California was ceded to the United States, land speculators bought up large tracts under Spanish titles, and others, foreseeing the coming prosperity, subsequently aquired great domains by purchase, either from the railways which had received land grants, or directly from the government. Some of these speculators, by holding their lands for a rise, made it difficult for immigrants to acquire small freeholds, and in some cases checked the growth of farms. Others let their land on short leases to farmers, who thus came into a comparatively precarious and often necessitous condition; others established enormous farms, in which the soil is cultivated by hired labourers, many of whom are discharged after the harvest—a phenomenon rare in the United States, which is elsewhere a country of moderately sized farms, owned by persons who do most of their labour by their own and their children's hands. Thus the land system of California presents features both peculiar and dangerous, a contrast between great properties, often appearing to conflict with the general weal, and the sometimes hard pressed small farmer, together with a mass of unsettled labour thrown without work into the towns at certain times of the year.[1]

5. By the turn of the century the deviation of migratory labor from the national ideal was recognized in the studies of the United States Industrial Commission in these words:

"* * * the annual inundation of grain fields in harvest time, hop yards in the picking season, fruit picking in districts of extensive market orchards, and similar harvest seasons requiring large numbers of hands for a short time, has a demoralizing effect on farm labor, reducing its efficiency in those lines. Such employments demand little skill; the requirements of each are simply and easily satisfied. They constitute a low order of farm labor, if worthy to be classed with it at all, and are excrescences upon its fair face." (U.S. Industrial Commission, vol. XI, p. 79.)

6. In the Middle West after the Civil War farmers recognized that the intensive labor demand of the wheat harvest faced them with a hand-labor issue. They could either adjust farm-size downward to a level that could be served by their own and local labor, or they could attract the recurrent services of a new class of migrant laborers. They chose the latter. I have documented these origins of migratory labor in wheat, and request that my unpublished paper on this subject entitled "Origins of Migratory Labor in the Wheat Belts of the Middle West and California: Second Half of Nineteenth Century" be printed in the record as an appendix to this statement.

7. At the turn of the century similar alternatives confronted an incipient sugar beet industry, located largely on western irrigated lands. The decision was the same as in wheat. Intensive campaigns were undertaken to recruit labor from distant rural areas. The United States Immigration Commission from its field studies as early as 1909 posed the alternatives:

"This dependence [upon immigrant labor] will prevail until such time as the land is subdivided into small holdings, the resident population becomes much more dense than it is now, except in such localities as that at Lehi, Utah, and the growing of sugar beets takes its place in a system of diversified [rather than specialized] farming."*

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[1] Latifundia perdunt Califoriam," some one said to me in Sanfrancisco.

8. The migrant labor question came to a sharp/public focus in the late 1920's when the issue of applying a quota restriction to immigrants from Mexico was under Congressional consideration. The growers relying upon this source for migratory seasonal labor were located mainly in the West and Southwest, where large landownerships were prevalent. Among those who spoke the desire for an unrestricted labor supply was Congressman John Nance Garner, of South Texas. He testified as follows:

"Here is the whole situation in a nutshell. Farming is not a profitable industry in this country, and in order to make money out of this, you have to have cheap labor ... In order to allow landowners to make a profit on their farms, they want to get the cheapest labor they can find, and if they get the Mexican labor it enables them to make a profit ... If they have to pay a higher price for labor, there is a loss instead of a profit. That is the way it is along the border and I imagine that is the way it is anywhere else." (Hearings before House committee on immigration and naturalization, 69 Cong., 1 sess., 188–9.)

9. In similar vein and at about the same time, Dr. George P. Clements, of the Agriculture Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, said of laborers from Mexico:

"No labor that has ever come to the United States is more satisfactory under righteous treatment. He is the result of years of servitude (in Mexico) and has always looked upon his employer as his padron and upon himself as part of the establishment."

10. An economic conflict of interest dividing landowners from their laborers was stated by Dr. Varden Fuller in his monumental study of "The supply of agricultural labor as a factor in the evolution of farm organization in California." He wrote:

"Wherever intensive cultivation had already begun or was in prospect, land values were capitalized on the basis of actual or anticipated returns from the cheap and convenient Chinese labor supply ... Thus in order to sell the large holdings to prospective small operators a considerable depreciation in value would have to be suffered. On the other hand, to perpetuate the large units would require an abundant labor supply . . . With a continuously abundant labor supply available to meet seasonal and casual needs, the opportunity to specialize in entrepreneurship was relatively great. Individuals with command of large amounts of capital could organize and operate large units, confident that they would be able to get enough extra labor during rush periods. This tendency was accentuated by the presence of individuals with relatively large capital backing ... The combination of such a population with the large land units of the Spanish and Mexican grants did not permit the establishment of a homogeneous structure of family farms in accordance with the ideals of the community." (Hearings before Senate subcommittee on education and labor, 76 Cong., 3 sess., pursuant to S. Res. 266—75th Cong.—part 54, pp. 19878—19891.)

11. In 1939 a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor under Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. came to California to "investigate violations of the right of free speech and assembly and interference with the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively" among migratory agricultural workers who were attempting to unionize during the Great Depression. The report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor found that:

". . . some of the aspects of the California farm labor problem observable in recent years find their counterpart in the first American period of settlement and cultivation; aspects such as large-scale ownership and operation, specialization, mechanization of some labor operations, use of seasonal migratory labor, encouragement to immigration to provide an abundant labor supply, and use of cheap foreign labor. . . . the characterization of California agriculture as 'industrialized' is intended to give emphasis to the existence of large-scale operations, the high degree of concentration of ownership, the dominance of large employers in terms of production and payments for labor, and the use of gangs of workers by a single employer on a factory pattern . . . the large operation employs a large number of workers; when it no longer has use for these workers they are laid off and must go elsewhere in search of employment. The relationship between employer and employee is impersonal . . . These features of the agricultural labor market are no different from those of the industrial labor market." (The disavantaged status of unorganized labor in California's industrialized agriculture. Senate Report 1150, part 3, pp. 226, 161. 76 Cong., 2d sess.)

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*Reports of the U.S. Immigration Commission, Sen. Doc. 633, 61 Cong., 2 sess., XXIV, 151. See also P. S. Taylor, "Hand laborers in the western sugar beet industry." Agricultural History, XLI, 19–26.

12. The Senate report added that "this pattern of industrial agriculture has grown to a remarkable degree in California, but it is of more than purely local significance because the development of similar patterns in other sections of the Nation is becoming apparent." I request that the attached excerpt from the 1942 report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor be printed as an appendix to my statement. It is entitled "The pattern of early land settlement and use through 1870." In this passage from its report, the Senate Committee elaborates the close relationship between concentrated landownership and the patterns of migratory labor.

13. On October 19, 1942 Senator LaFollette filed in the Congressional Record under the title "The Problem of Economic Democracy on the Land" the final section of the report of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on agricultural labor. In his opening paragraph he alluded to the "question of how farm wages should relate to urban wages." This was a plain reference to the enduring policy of employing interests of replenishing the agricultural labor market from sources, domestic and foreign, that are *noncompetitive* with the higher wages of the urban labor market. "More particularly," he said:

"I urge those who are interested in the welfare of the millions of forgotten and disadvantaged farm workers and their families to learn what these laborers are up against without the protection of the labor legislation we have put on the books during the past decade."

14. The final section of the Senate Committee's report, entitled "Conclusions and Recommendations" described the character of employing interests in California's agriculture and their labor relations policies:

"Employers in the various phases of agricultural industry in California are usually members of an association which has as one of its purposes the execution of policies respecting labor and labor relations . . . Due to their prevalence and their support by large corporate business interests in agriculture and related industries, these employers' associations wield a powerful influence in matters affecting agricultural labor standards and the relationships between labor and agricultural employers. They seek to secure the maintenance in their hands of an unfettered control of the incidents of employer-employee relationships in California's industrialized agriculture. Many of these employers' associations, up to now, have been unwilling to brook any intrusion from employees, their trade-unions, or the Government, in their management of labor relations. This policy gives rise not only to a continued sufference of undesirable economic and social conditions among the thousands of California's agricultural laborers, but in large measure causes these conditions. In addition, it results in a continued conspiratorial nullification and destruction of civil rights" (88 Cong. Rec. 8318–8338)

15. As long ago as 1942, in other words, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, with Senator LaFollette in charge and with the Honorable Henry H. Fowler as chief counsel, concluded that employing interests in California agriculture, resting largely on concentrated landownership, were strongly resistant to:

(a) extending the public protections of social legislation to agricultural workers; and

(b) extending the self-protections of unionization to agricultural workers.

16. Twenty-eight years ago the Senate Committee on Education and Labor recommended, and prepared draft bill to:

(a) extend social legislation to agricultural workers. Unemployment insurance, the most important protection of all, has not yet been adopted.

(b) extend labor relations legislation to agricultural workers to enable them to protect themselves. This form of Government recognition of union organization has not yet been adopted.

17. Large landed interests have been as effective in thwarting the provisions of reclamation law designed to give individual opportunity on the land to the land-

less as they have been in obstructing the extension to agricultural workers of social and labor legislation.

18. Reclamation law was enacted in 1902 to give away public waters as previously the Nation had been giving away public lands. To preserve the policy of widespread distribution of public land embodied in the Homestead Act, the National Reclamation Act provided that "No right to the use of water for land in private ownership shall be sold for a tract exceeding 160 acres to any one landowner . . . and no such sale shall be made . . . unless he be an actual bona fide resident on such land, or occupant thereof residing in the neighborhood of said land . . . " (43 USC 439)

19. Both the President of the United States who signed the reclamation bill and personally inspired the 160-acre provision, and the committee chairman who guided the bill in the House, were emphatic that its purpose was to prevent concentrated landownership. Congressman Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, told Congress:

"It is a step in advance of any legislation we have ever had in guarding against the possibility of speculative landholdings . . . while it will also compel the division into small holdings of any large areas . . . in private ownership which may be irrigated under its provisions." (35 Cong. Rec. 6677)

President Theodore Roosevelt, with the signing of the reclamation law freshly behind him, addressed the students at Stanford University. After noting that the early land laws had been "twisted into an improper use, so that . . . they tend to create a class of men who . . . obtain large tracts of soil for speculative purposes, or to rent out to others." he charged the students to take leadership in "securing the right use of the waters, and of seeing to it that our land policy is not twisted from its original purpose, but is perpetuated . . . to turn the public domain into farms each to be the property of the man who actually tills it and makes his home on it." (Taylor, Excess land law: execution of a public policy, 64 Yale Law Journal 477, 479)

With foresight the President warned that "good laws alone will not secure good administration."

20. The purpose of reclamation, to hold open the door for individual self-help by the landless, has been resisted unremittingly by large landowning interests in every branch of Government—judicial, legislative and executive.

(a) When large landowning interests challenged the 160-acre provision in the courts, the United States Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality unanimously. (Ivanhoe v. McCracken, 357 U.S. 275, 1958)

(b) Despite some exceptions the legislative branch has declined to wipe the 160-acre law from the statute books. I have described in detail this intermittent yet unending struggle against the law in an article entitled "Reclamation: Aspirations versus Achievements." (115 Cong. Rec. E9677–9680, daily ed. November 17, 1969)

(c) As with the public land laws before them, the collapse, under pressure, of proper observance and enforcement of reclamation law has been greatest in the executive branch of Government. Among the crucial requirements of reclamation law most frequently ignored by its administrators are these:

(1) The Secretary of the Interior shall require owners of excess lands to agree to dispose of them "before any contract is let or work begun for the construction of any reclamation project. . ." (43 USC 418)

(2) No excess lands "shall receive water from any project." (43 USC 423e)

(3) Water shall be furnished only to "an actual bona fide resident on such land, or occupant thereof . . ." (43 USC 439)

I have documented administrative circumvention of the law, inter alia, in Excess land law: calculated circumvention, (52 California Law Review 978) and, very recently, in an unpublished paper entitled "Water grants for education and planned open space: new uses for reclamation," delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science symposium on Water and Man. I request that this paper be printed as an appendix to the present statement.

(d) Even the Comptroller General, an officer of the Congress bearing responsibility to "report specially to Congress every expenditure or contract made by any department or establishment in any year in violation of law" apparently yields to the pervasive pressures from large landowning interests. (31 USCA 53e) As recently as February 1970, in reporting to Congress on San Luis Unit, CVP) he failed to report glaring violations or reclamation law and, instead, practically invited the Southern Pacific, owner of 110,000 acres on the project ineligible for its benefits, to tell him (and Congress) how to circumvent the 160-acre law permanently. I have analysed this report by the Comptroller General in the accompanying paper entitled "Who will watch the watch-dog of Congress," and I request that it be printed as an appendix to this statement.

21. Observance and enforcement of the antimonoply (160-acre) provisions of reclamation law would be beneficial to migratory laborers and society alike. It is strange that in these days when law and order in the streets is so popular and necessary to social stability, that a Federal law specifying the terms on which public water and subsidies will be given to private citizens can become almost a dead letter. Indeed, nonenforcement has become so widespread that one wonders why the pressure against the law continues as testified to, for example, by the suggestion of the Southern Pacific passed on to Congress in February by the Comptroller General. The probable explanation is one suggested to Congress in 1944 by a spokesman for large landowners in Central Valley. He testified that although they might "assume that (the law) would not be enforced," nevertheless such assumption "would not be a safe solution" because "Landowners could not rely on continued future nonenforcement." (S. T. Harding, Hearings before Senate subcommittee of the committee on irrigation and reclamation, 78 Cong., 2 sess., on S. Res. 295, p. 363.)

22. Effective law enforcement requires not only administrators of integrity, willing and capable of resisting pressures against enforcement, but also for a strategically effective enforcement technique. Authorization by Congress of Government purchase of excess lands (above 160-acres) ineligible to receive water, the price to be the prewater price as prescribed by present law, would be an effective technique. This is recommended today, inter alia, by the national AFL–CIO, Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, and National Education Association. Its adoption would promote not only law observance and enforcement, but also facilitate public planning for a decent environment, improve the financial condition of the national treasury and make possible greater financial assistance to education and to other public projects such as the national Land and Water Conservation Fund. The proposal that the Government purchase lands about to be reclaimed dates from a suggestion by the Governor of Montana in the early 1890's, was reiterated by a distinguished citizens' committee during the Coolidge era, and was revived by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall in 1964. I have documented the proposal for Government purchase in the attached paper and draft bill, and request that these be printed as appendices to this statement.

23. Finally, effective enforcement of reclamation law would bring benefits to migratory agricultural workers. It would diminish pressures that have denied them protections of social and labor legislation. It would provide opportunity for individuals to advance to landownership. It would afford working farmers the economic motivation of self-employment to lengthen the duration of employment on their land. It would slow down present trends that leave windfall profits from publicly financed water development in the hands of large landowners, while sweeping agricultural workers off the land and into the cities without "severance pay."

ORIGINS OF MIGRATORY LABOR IN THE WHEAT BELTS OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND CALIFORNIA: SECOND HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY

(By Paul S. Taylor)

It [one-crop wheat culture] unsettles our labor system. The universal sentiment is, that labor is too high, but it will remain so as long as you crowd all of the year's work into one or two months. The profits are all absorbed by high wages. I cannot give you a better idea of the dependence of the wheat growers, than by giving you a little dialogue that took place about the 20th of last June . . . in Edwardsville.

I saw a farmer approach a squad of laborers. His steps indicated great haste, and his countenance was the very expression of great anxiety.

Farmer--"Do you want to work in the harvest field, boys?"
Hands--"Yes, I guess so; how much wheat have you?"

Farmer--"Well, let me see, I have 200 acres of land, and I think there is about 160 acres of it in wheat."
Hands--"Pretty large crop; how much are you willing to pay?"

Farmer--"My neighbors are paying two dollars, but I am willing to pay two dollars and a half,"
Hands--"That won't do; we have been offered three dollars, but he was a rough looking fellow, and we would not go with him."

Farmer--"Look here, boys, I must cut my wheat; it is all the crop I have, and I have no one to help me but one hired man and my little boy, and if you will come along I will pay you three dollars, but I don't want you to say anything about it."
Hands--"Say, do you feed a fellow pretty well at your house?"

Farmer--"O yes, we will give you three regular meals and two luncheons, which includes hot coffee, cakes, pies, etc.; my wife is a good cook."
Hands--Well, you are a pretty clever fellow; say, will you give us something to drink?"

Farmer--"I am a temperance man, but I guess I will have to; see here, boys, if you will help me I tell you what I will do: I will give you three regular meals, two luncheons, three whiskies, and three dollars per day, but I don't want you to say anything about it."
Hands--"One more question. We are Northern men, have come down here to harvest, and will travel north with the ripening wheat. Can you pay us our money when we are done?"

Farmer--"O yes, I've got plenty of money; got it at the bank, and paid two per cent. a month."

This may be an over-drawn picture, but it serves my purpose to illustrate who it is that have fattened upon the necessities of the one-crop plan. The labor of a country is the true element of its wealth, and when we pursue that course that compels labor to be migratory, by giving it employment for but a few weeks in a year, you may expect to pay dear for your whistle.
- John C. Burrough's Presidential address before Madison County Agricultural Society, Illinois, 1869.

Wheat was the great money crop of the Middle Western and Pacific States during the second half of the nineteenth century. As farmers went westward to take up new land in the Upper Mississippi Valley, they found it advantageous to specialize at first in production of wheat. It was their quickest means of obtaining a cash income. Virgin soils were fertile, and wheat was an easy crop to plant. With high value and concentrated bulk, frontier wheat could be transported to distant markets in competition with wheat from the East and from Europe. Similar conditions in the Great Central Valley of California were producing similar developments there, simultaneously. Beginning in the early 1860's fleets of sailing vessels used to swarm into San Francisco Bay to load their hulls with wheat for the annual race to the markets of the world.

While the eastern half of the Upper Mississippi was being settled, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the usual practice had been to sow grain by hand. Harvesting, too, was principally by hand. The sickle, or reaping hook, was early superseded by the cradle, which had been in use previously in Flanders. This more efficient tool consisted of a scythe with light wooden fingers attached to the blade to collect and carry the severed stalks to the end of the stroke. The cradle was in general use on eastern farms and in the Ohio and Upper Mississippi Valleys until the Civil War.[3]

So long as these simple methods of production prevailed and extra labor was scarce and dear, the scale on which a farmer could grow wheat was held to the amount which he and his family could harvest by their own labor, viz., about thirty acres. "With the exception of Virginia and, to a much lesser extent, New York," wrote Leo Rogin, "most of the wheat in the East was grown by small farmers who, for reasons of economy, eschewed the hiring of hands. Cooperation among the neighbors undoubtedly helped to relieve the pressure at harvest time, but it is obvious that the farmers of a community could not very well spare a large part of the harvest season on any one farm. In short, the amount of wheat which a farmer could grow was as a rule limited to the amount he was able to harvest with the aid of his family."[4] The Rural New Yorker in 1862 indicated how inclusive this aid of the family was, by welcoming the relief to "wives and daughters" from "long harvest days" as "the scythe and sickle are giving place to the mowing machine and reaper."[5]

A limitation on size of wheat crop was not unacceptable to many, perhaps even to most farmers of the day, for the family-size farm based on the laboring capacity of the farm family was in its hey-day of popular approval. Entirely apart from any question of seasonal labor, the issue was debated whether farmers should become employers of labor, enlarging their farms in order to do so. While arguing on one side that "a big farm well tilled is a mine of wealth to the owner," the Rural New Yorker could point out simultaneously that "small farming pays as well as other small businesses. It suits some men better than others, and if one has the desire to farm within himself, let him reduce his acres until he can work with them . . ."[6] Since problems of labor relations, to use a modern term, were resolved within the family, or among neighbors, it seemed easier to perform even hard farm labor. "Harvest is a season of toil and pleasure. It calls for the most incessant and fatiguing exertions of the year, and yet the labor is pleasant, for the farmer works with willing hands . . ."[7]

Where farms were close enough to settlements, it was possible to draw upon these for extra help at the height of the season. Village women entered the fields in emergencies along with men. An Ohio report on farm labor quoted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture states that "the rush to the California gold mines in 1849 and early fifties, unsettled wages a trifle, but the call for laborers to gather in the harvests was responded to by the villagers in every neighborhood, and the women in many cases came cheerfully to the fields and performed the work of men."[8]

Mobilization of village labor is described in a fictionalized but doubtless authentic account which the Rural New Yorker published in 1855. "The wheat harvest had just commenced --" the account ran, "that busy, busy season to the farmer and the farmer's wife. -- Every other business had been suspended, and every man that could be procured had been sent into the field -- the mechanic had left his shop, the student had left his books, even those averse to labor, and those who held themselves above it, had entered the lists, for the ripened grain in wheat raising districts -- the crop of the farmer -- must be secured at the proper season. . . A small army of men were in the field, paired off like dancers at a cotillion party, the reaper, swinging his huge cradle in among the thick straw and laying its rich burden at the feet of the binder who followed a step behind."[9] This is a picture of neighbors helping neighbors. Thus the villagers, providing a second element of elasticity, relaxed a little the labor limitations on the farmer's scale of wheat production.

As settlers spread over the Appalachians onto the rich virgin soils of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, they increased the size of their wheat fields. In 1845 Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review made note of what was impressing eastern farmers, viz., that in Michigan and Wisconsin "fields of 200 or 300 acres are not uncommon, and frequently 500 or 800 acres are put under a single fence."[10] In deciding what to plant in the Spring, men began to turn away from mixed farming--the traditional balance of crops adjusted to family labor. Responding to the pull of world markets exerted through easy transportation by water, turnpike and rail, they began to specialize in wheat. The rewards of the coveted market had their price, a gnawing at the farmer's independence. While the measure of the value of the fruits of his labor was becoming less the substance of the crop and more the fluctuating price quotations in a world wheat market, his ability to harvest the full quality and amount of his crop was coming to depend less on the sweat of his brow and the help of family and neighbors and more on the availability and good will of itinerant temporary workers. By creating a new demand for farm hands the wheat growers upset the traditional relations between farmers and laborers. Farmers who, with their families, had performed all their own work before, now entered the labor market as employers. The laborers they sought were no longer "hired men" engaged for the year to work steadily, each one beside a working farmer; now they were extra hands wanted at harvest time only, in numbers and for a short time.

Hunt's Merchants' Magazine warned as early as 1845 that insufficient elasticity of the local labor supply endangered the success of specialization in wheat. If sickness, for example, should afflict the laborers of a community at harvest time, there was no way to prevent loss, for outside labor was not readily available. "Numerous instances have occurred," it recited, "where large quantities of grain have been lost for want of harvest hands. Such results would seem to inculcate deeply the lesson, that employments should be multiplied, and a diversity of crops raised, and reliance no longer be placed in a single, and that a precarious crop. But the lesson passes off with the occasion, and the same ruinous course is persisted in from year to year."[11]

The labor hazard was not confined to scarcity or sickness; it was becoming easier for differences and irritations to arise between farmers and their employees than between farmers and steady hands. In the 1840's a Virginia planter gave this as his reason for renouncing use of hired seasonal laborers to supplement his slaves. "No laborers, either reapers or binders, worth having, can be hired here," he wrote, "and all who seek for such employment in harvest, studiously avoid all farms where there is any heavy growth to reap, and no whisky is permitted to be used by the laborers. I have ceased to seek for or to obtain any aid of harvest hirelings."[12]

As early as 1854 the Country Gentleman cautioned farmers on the labor disadvantages of specialization in wheat. "An even distribution of labor is of much importance and not unfrequently entirely overlooked," said the column on "Plans for the Year" in January. "Hands hired for the season commonly come to understand the routine of work much better than day-hands, and they work more cheaply. A farmer sows half his fields with wheat, with the hope of realizing a fine sum of money; but after the wheat is sown, his men have but little to do that is profitable until the next harvest, when he may be compelled to pay double to even triple wages, all of which trim down the profits . . . There is no error more common than the imperfect execution of certain operations when the farmer finds himself behind hand, with a deficiency of hands."[13]

As the specialization in wheat became more widespread, laborers were drawn from farther away whose concern with the harvest, therefore, was more purely commercial than the concern of neighbors. Middle western farmers, like the Virginia planter in the 1840's, began to learn how weak was the seasonal workers' sense of a common interest with their employers, how the latter's necessities might be turned to the fuller advantage of the former. Illinois farmers took public note in 1861 of their experience that where thousands of men "design only the raising of grain," they are confronted with the "vexation which accompanies the hiring of a large number of hands in performing urgent work, when advantage is often taken of the farmer's necessities and exorbitant prices demanded."[14]

One difficulty was that under the new system everybody was perennially trying to operate on uncharted seas. Employers and men facing each other to set the money terms for a brief relationship lacked the steadying influence of custom that weighed so heavily in the more leisurely arrangements for a yearly hiring. Uncertain prices and the hazards of crop damage pressed upon the employing farmer; the shortness of their seasonal opportunity to earn and the arduousness of harvest labor impressed the hands. To assess the wage rate that would equate supply with demand was a task for trial and error; last year's rates were largely irrelevant. The complete breakdown of custom as an influence was readily apparent in the Wisconsin wheat harvest of 1860. "Many farmers who at the commencement of the season would not offer higher wages than last year ($1 per day), find themselves left alone to gather their crops," wrote a correspondent to the Country Gentleman. "Laborers command from $2 to $2.50, besides their board, and are scarce at that. Many mechanics in the towns have abandoned their trades for a time, and gone into the country to work in the harvest field . . . ."[15]

It was easy to misjudge the labor market either way. According to a correspondent from Batavia, New York, farmers were paying more than necessary in 1865. "Harvest help is plenty at $2 per day," he wrote, "and would have been at $1.50, which is high enough."[16]

A few years later a Bartow County farmer in Georgia welcomed mowing and reaping machines as instruments of relief from labor discontent as well as labor shortage. "You may harvest when you please, with your machine," he said, "not subject to the whims of hand cradlers, or the disaster attending failure to get them.[17]

As the frontier of cultivation moved westward across Iowa and Minnesota to the Dakotas, and as civil war stimulated demand for machines to save labor, ever more efficient methods of saving labor in wheat production came into use. Gang plows made their appearance by the middle sixties. By the late 1860's and early 1870's mechanical wheat planters had been perfected and adopted widely in the prairie winter wheat regions,[18] where level fields free from rocks and stumps were conducive to the use of farm machinery immediately. Drills and broadcast seeders accelerated the speed of planting far beyond the old method of sowing by hand. Armed with these new powers to increase the acreage he could prepare, plant and bring to harvest by himself, the farmer specialized in wheat production on an ever larger scale.

In fully specialized wheat communities, harvest time struck all farmers simultaneously in a single great peak demand for laborers. By reducing the numbers of resident farmers and steady farm hands relative to acreage in wheat, planting machinery intensified the prairie wheat farmers' needs for seasonal laborers far beyond the capacities of family and neighborhood workers. Village and town settlements had lagged behind the fast-advancing and partially-mechanized farmers taking up claims, breaking sod and planting wheat. Unlike the southern cotton planter, the wheat farmer of the upper Mississippi Valley and Great Plains could not afford to retain the rest of the year all the laborers he would need at harvest. Northern wage workers were more costly when actually employed than either slaves or freedmen, and on the prairies and plains there was no off-season work, such as land-clearing, to keep them in steady employ with profit. More far-reaching measures to obtain labor for a season were necessary if wheat specialization was to survive.

It is true that machines such as reapers, headers and binders were being developed to save labor in harvesting, simultaneously with machines saving labor in ground preparation and planting. But even their astonishing success failed by a wide margin to lower the requirement for hand harvesters sufficiently to equalize the labor demands of seed time and harvest. As specialization increased, vaster numbers of men, unneeded at any other time, were required to shock and thresh grain. The settlers who wanted to specialize in wheat for the market could do so only if they created a new type of agricultural laborer.

They were willing to risk much on their ability to do this, apparently with few if any real reservations. Neither uncertainty where seasonal laborers could be found nor apprehensiveness over effects of the new arrangements on the quality of farm life and work relations caused Middle Western farmers to hesitate over planting wheat. They planted more, regardless. "There seemed to be music in the very pronunciation of that word WHEAT," said the president of the Madison County Agricultural Society of Illinois in 1869. "Year after year the contest has been as to who could sow the greatest number of acres, until Madison and adjoining counties presented, last harvest, the appearance of one vast wheat field."[19] But when the crop came ready for harvest, these single-crop farmers, like their predecessors in Virginia, realized that they had brought a new problem upon themselves. Laborers, in groups, were demanding higher wages and more attractive working conditions under threat of refusal to help in the harvest.

In the South on the plantation, the split between planter and laborer was old and well-known; it rested on status, not on seasonality of employment. But the appearance of a sharpening separation between farmer and farm laborer in the upper Mississippi Valley was new and disturbing to farmers accustomed to glorify the dignity of men who till the soil and think of themselves as laborers. "It unsettles our labor system," a thoughtful farmer told his fellows, and "when you pursue that course that compels labor to be migratory, by giving it employment for but a few weeks in a year, you may expect to pay dear for your whistle."[20]

The widened gulf between farm employers and their temporary help set up stresses and strains in yet another quarter. Observing how the migratory labor system placed burdens on farmers' wives,[21] an Englishwoman whose "Ideas of America" appeared in the Country Gentleman in 1869 urged that they "should make their husbands put up cottages and employ steady married men; for this roving set of boarding hands is enough to make every woman dread the name of a farmer's wife. Most decidedly no slaves in the last or any age ever had the evils to bear, with regard to worry and drudgery, as the poor women with men to board and such help as exists here."[22] The remedy was not so simple, but the foreign visitor spotted accurately the spreading effects of migratory labor.

Reminded but undeterred, farmers first planted wheat, then afterward sought men who could be detached from home moorings to shift from brief harvest to brief harvest, migrating hundreds of miles in following the ever-ripening grain. Almost simultaneously with sod-breaking and settlement the wheat harvest became the occasion to recruit from farther and farther a huge number of workers needed at no other time. Well to the east and south of the wheat fields of the great northern frontier lay older, more thickly settled communities with towns growing into cities that could furnish men. In the venture of tapping these distant reservoirs the farmers had an ally in the railroads. Since these depended for revenue on selling land and hauling wheat they saw the farmers' interest in moving labor as their own. If the laborers rode free, the wheat paid freight and sold more land.

Annual repetition molded labor through experience and expectation to a new type, matching a new need -- migratory workers without ties to the farm community, travelling without women, ready to accept a succession of irregular and short employments for a season.

In Illinois and Minnesota this change was striking men in the face. An onlooker, G.W. Schatzel, was fascinated by what he saw in Minnesota in 1867, and within a few months Harper's Magazine published his account. Farms seldom were larger than the traditional quarter-section, yet specialization already was written over the rolling landscape; wheat was "almost her exclusive object of production."[23] Schatzel, excited by the unfolding drama of an unfamiliar agriculture, noted its every significant detail.

He observed, one day as harvest was approaching in a small Minnesota town, that when the landlord of his hotel went as usual to meet the train he returned with an unusual kind of guests. They were a rough-looking set of fellows, each armed with a bundle or valise; they were laborers come north from Iowa and Missouri to work in the harvest. "Able-bodied, hardy, of all shapes and sizes, they looked like a detachment of Goths and Vandals on a marauding expedition to our peaceful hills and vales. They were the first installment of 'fieldhands' from below, come to assist our farmers to gather in their crops. Starting from the vicinity of St. Louis, they had worked in field after field, when one section of country was harvested migrating farther north, till they had come to offer us the benefit of their toughened frames and experienced labor, for an equivalent. But they were fully determined that this equivalent should be something decent."

They had not come to help neighbors harvest a bumper crop. Without roots in the Minnesota community the only connection of these migratory laborers with the farmers who had planted the wheat was the "cash-nexus" of Carlyle -- cash and board for a couple of weeks' work in the harvest. In response to an expanding market this demand by Minnesota wheat farmers for migratory seasonal laborers was creating -- like cell-division -- two separate men -- a "laborer" and a "farmer" -- where before there had been but one -- a "farmer-laborer" called a "farmer".

The "vexation" and demands for "exorbitant prices" which Illinois farmers had noted apprehensively in 1861, spread starkly and as in slow-motion before the onlooker's eyes in Minnesota in 1867, as farmers and laborers each were quick to bargain for advantage. The hands who had come by train to Minnesota, quick to sense the separateness of their own interest, went immediately and aggressively to the financial heart of their temporary relationship with a new employer: "Have there been any farmers in yet wanting hands. . . What are they paying here now?" Schatzel noted these first questions by the new guests, then the landlord's reply, and the colloquy that ensued. "Well, the price isn't fixed yet. . .but they talk about not giving more'n two dollars a day." "They'll pay more than that before the week's out". . ."What are they paying down below?" "Three dollars; and they'll have to come to it here. There's a big pile of wheat this season -- half again as much as last. . .Bet you, we don't bind for any two dollars -- no, nor any two and a half -- will we boys?" Schatzel observed that at this "the others grunt their determination to stick to three dollars without flinching."

Faced with these demands, the farmers refused with spirit and some acidity to meet them more than half-way. First they tried for a compromise above the two dollars that is "all they're paying here", but shied away from the three dollars demanded. "I need four or five hands, but I can't give three dollars." "No? Then we're not the boys for you." "Will you take two-fifty?" "Three is our lowest figure." The sparring went on. "It's good pay, is two and a half." "Not in these times -- things are too high." "You had better take my offer, and found, than stay here a week running up a bill at a dollar and a half a day." At this point, said Schatzel, "the farmer turns from the spokesman to the gang, and hazards the query, 'Is that your mind? are you all of that way of thinking?' 'Well, we are that.' He turns away with the air of one who has nothing more to advance, remarking, as he touches up his horses, 'Well, I hope you'll get it, that's all.' With this Parthian arrow he drives off."[24] "When several days elapse," continues this contemporary account, "and both sides still hold out, a report gains ground that the hands are in combination -- other gangs having now arrived -- and that they have agreed among themselves to take nothing less than three dollars."

The first laborers in town, those who had set the wage demand, now left without working in order to go farther west where newer harvests were opening. Fresh arrivals took their place, and the differences between the two sides continued. "To all there was one invariable battle-cry: Three Dollars, and there was no abatement in their demands. The warfare was getting to be interesting, and the farmers were by no means behind hand in pluck. But it could not go on so forever. The latter at length became anxious. The wheat was suffering from the delay in gathering it in. It was getting overripe, and if not reaped immediately, would scatter and be lost. Said one man, 'It is better to pay three dollars or even four dollars today, than two dollars next week. The wheat you will lose will more than make up the difference."

"He was showing the white feather a little too early, however, for his listeners at once fell to, and attacked him unmercifully. 'Durn it, who talks of giving three dollars! Let them hold out--we can beat them yet. Not one cent over two and a half will I pay.'

"Similar remarks by the rest showed that they were all in sympathy. And so another few days slipped by."

Then, on a Monday morning, farmers drove up to the depot to meet a new batch of laborers at the train. This time it was different. "Each farmer affectionately stows away his gang in the wagon. He treats them very cordially now, almost deferentially, for he fears he may lose them even yet, should more than three dollars be offered by some desperate fellow who has failed to secure any. And so, whipping up his team, he drives away in hot haste, till the fear of danger is past. The terms then are at last three dollars a day and found. The boys are not at all satisfied if the fare is not plentiful and of the best."

The early laborers had not misjudged the market. After they had all been employed at three dollars, hundreds of fields still lay untouched.

> And now the husbandmen grew really frightened. In their eager, almost frenzied efforts to secure hands and save their crops (for now it had come to this), they went excitedly into the towns to buy up work at any price. At Eyeota and Rochester at this time many were engaged at three, three and a half, four, and even four and a half, dollars a day. Soon the anxiety spread from the farmers to the other classes of the community. Merchants, wheat-buyers, mechanics, persons of all interests and ranks began to feel concerned. Was there to be a repetition of last year's failure and distress? Everyone knew his prosperity, his exemption from poverty and suffering, depended directly or indirectly on the success of the farmers. They were the mighty Atlas who bore upon their huge shoulders the well-being and safety of the whole country. Labor was scarce; what was to be done? Everyone not busily engaged in other occupations felt a call almost as strong as that of patriotism to go into the fields; and fortunately numbers in different branches of business were sufficiently at leisure to give a few days to this object. A farmer came into town in Southern Minnesota and grabbed up a tailor, a shoemaker, a harnessmaker, and a blacksmith, for three dollars a day each. The next morning another came, and a hotelkeeper was seduced by his gentle appeals and went off in company with his brother and partner, for the agricultural Siren had tempted them with an offer of four dollars a day. The hotel in the meantime was left to the tender mercies of the boy hostler. And so it went on. Lawyers without cases, doctors where the neighborhood was rather too healthy, preachers of the Gospel whose flocks preferred not to part with their wool, men of all trades and professions, prompted by the concern and fear all felt, and by the tempting offers of three and four dollars went pell-mell into the wheat fields of Minnesota."[25]

The patterns of labor relations that prevailed in this great harvest of 1867 was to be repeated in many areas and in many crops, until World War II at least.

The possibilities of harvesting a specialized wheat crop, revealed so clearly to the quarter-section homesteaders of Minnesota by the arrival of hordes of migratory harvesters, were to be exploited almost immediately and on an ever grander scale. Great bonanza "farms" began to blanket the Red River Valley uniting Minnesota and North Dakota. These famous enterprises, which marked the zenith of the new development in wheat, did not grow by swallowing up small farms, like some of the plantations of the Southeast. They sprang full-blown in the early seventies when the railroad was put through the valley and sold its virgin land to eastern investors in great blocks at low prices.

Already by 1880 there were 82 farms of more than 1,000 acres each in the area, and "the movement," says the economic historian Coulter, "was just getting nicely started."[26] In 1890 the number was 323. Averaging about 7,000 acres each according to William Allen White in 1897, these bonanza estates rose in size to the towering height of 75,000 acres on the Dalrymple "farm."[27]

The bonanza enterprises were not farms as American settlers knew them nor were their laborers--sucked in and blown out to drift hither and thither with the seasons--hired men. Owners usually were absentees who left their properties in the hands of managers. This custom was so widespread in the wheat belt at the close of the nineteenth century that 28 percent of the wheat acreage of the entire nation was operated by managers. Few farm laborers were worked steadily. In the fall "during the ploughing season about fifty men are employed," said William Allen White in describing the typical bonanza. "At the end of the ploughing season these men are discharged--all but ten of them, who find work on the farm the year round. The discharged men go back to their homes in the pineries or in the cities farther south."[28]

In the spring "the dormitories in the division houses fill up," continues White's account of North Dakota. After the planting season, which might last as little as seventeen days, "extra laborers leave the farm again . . . ." Harvest might require them again for about ten days on any particular farm. "In fact," says White in summary, "except the half-score of men who are engaged upon the big farms--in ploughing season, at seeding-timo, during harvest and when the season for threshing comes--the men who do the most important work--are transient laborers. Frequently they are birds of passage, whose faces are familiar to the foremen, but whose homes may be a thousand miles away. Men of this character are not 'hoboes'--yet now and then a tramp does 'rest from his loved employ' and work with the 'harvest hands'. A majority of the laborers comes from the South in harvest-time. These men are regular harvesters, who begin with the early June harvest in Oklahoma, working northward until the season closes in the Red River country. Men of this class never pay railroad fare. Thousands of them--perhaps fifteen men for every thousand acres in wheat--ride into the bonanza district on the 'blind-baggage' on passenger trains. When they have leisure and a taste for scenery they jolt placidly across the continent homeward-bound in what the lingo of the cult calls 'side-door sleepers.' Many of these workmen live in the larger towns of the Middle West--in St. Louis, in Omaha, in St. Paul, in Chicago or in Milwaukee."[29]

Southward on the Great Plains wheat was becoming as predominant as in the Red River Valley, although farms were much smaller than in North Dakota. By 1879 wheat-culture was "of leading importance" in Kansas and "especially picturesque."[30] Henry King saw the industrialization of wheat production in poetical terms. Where less than fifteen years earlier there was "all a desolate and unblest extent of buffalo-grass, set down by the ironical geographers as a desert," wrote King, "In the exclusive wheat districts, there are no fences. . . and the fields embrace many hundreds, frequently more than a thousand, of acres, whole townships at times looking to be single farms." "The pastoral old 'cradling' process is here superseded by an epic; the plentiful reaping-machines, with their glare of paint and burnished steel and their great overwhelming 'reels,' have a kind of Homeric character. There are probably a score of these machines in sight at one time; first the ordinary, original reaper, which leaves the wheat lying behind it in a swath, like mown hay; next the self-raker, which drops it in convenient little bunches, ready for binding; then the header, which clips off only the tips of the stems, emptying them into a large, uncouth box on an attendant wagon; and finally the self-binder, that perfection of farm machinery, that ghostly marvel of a thing, with the single sinister arm, tossing the finished sheaves from it in such a nervous, spiteful, feminine style. . . . How rapidly and how deftly the keen sickles cut their way, and what straight, smooth openings they effect through the close and clinging stalk! Everywhere is eagerness, energy, urgent action, for time is precious and foul weather may intervene; but how methodical it all is, nevertheless, and how small is the measure of wasted power! Each stroke counts; each step is a triumph. The fields change like shiftings of scenery in a pantomime. There are unexpected new lights and shades; boundary lines are abruptly transposed and confused; the landscape is momently made alien. Among the glistening stubble rise numberless shocks and bulging stacks; a steam threshing-machine is suddenly disclosed, half hidden in profuse and buoyant flakes of straw; and, if you look closely, you will discover that plowing and harrowing for another crop have begun in places where the harvesting is barely completed."[31]

The Kansas laborers were organized for custom work, relieving the farmer of all burdens except paying. "The owner pays a stipulated price per acre for the harvesting," said King, "and is relieved of all the vexation and inconvenience of that sorest test of agricultural piety, the hiring and taking care of harvest hands. . . The threshing is largely done upon the same plan, and sometimes the plowing and seeding as well."[32] The farmer's wife, too, was spared, as responsibility for board and lodging was shifted to other shoulders; King describes how it then rested on the laborers. "Those singular huts, made of rough pine boards, with canvas awnings, which you notice now and then, were set up yesterday, perhaps, and will be taken down tomorrow. They are the quarters of the men engaged in the harvesting, and very odd places they are, with their rude beds of straw, their long, narrow dining-tables, their clatter of dishes, their ludicrous mimicry of towels, combs, and looking-glasses. The harvesters out here, you soon learn, go in squads or companies, carrying their camp equipage with them from place to place, and boarding and lodging themselves."[33]

As in North Dakota, the traditional "farmer" was being divided in Kansas into different types of "farmer" as well as into "farmer" and "laborer". Aided by the rise of migratory labor, the "town-farmer" already had appeared in Kansas wheat. "In many cases," said King, "he does not reside upon the land at all, but has his home in the adjacent town, where he probably also operates a grain-elevator, or holds a county office." In competing with this labor system and this type of Kansas "farmer", "the smaller farmers secure all these advantages readily by clubbing together. . ."[34]

Expansion of wheat acreage into the Great Plains drew laborers from more and more distant places. As the number of harvest workers grew, lumbering and the farms could no longer provide adequate employment to dovetail with wheat. From St. Joseph, Missouri, in the direct stream of south and north migration, came reports to the U.S. Department of Agriculture of the changes in the source of migratory laborers. "The supply of transient labor is becoming more urban yearly," it said in 1892, five years before White. "The destruction of our forests. . .has been so nearly complete that there no longer is any work for the woodman."[35] In Minnesota the forests were not yet cut over. The farm labor report from Crow Wing County on the Mississippi told how employments still were dovetailed: ". . .in the spring the men are on the river driving sawlogs; in the winter in the lumbercamps, logging; in the summer and fall, harvesting and thrashing in Dakota."[36] Seasonal demand for laborers was spreading in many directions, adding variety and volume to the market. The strong seasonal rhythms of employment in railroad building, construction and other rising activities were calling into existence pools of highly casual and migratory laborers in a number of middlewestern cities. Wheat, offering work as casual as any other industry, began naturally to draw from the common pools where casual workers were collecting.

The advantages to the employer of the new labor system that enterprising Americans were grasping so quickly, commended themselves also to a foreign observer. A Scotch agricultural expert visiting the Dalrymple North Dakota estate in the late 1870's wrote these impressions: "There is no difficulty in obtaining extra hands, amongst whom are many Norwegians, Scandinavians and Germans." These came largely from the newly developing lumber industry of Minnesota. "During harvest and thrashing, which is done in the field, as many as 500 men are frequently employed. Even with this great accession of labourers, work proceeds systematically and harmoniously. No rows occur, brawling and fighting are extremely rare, but when they do occur it unfortunately is usually on Sunday. Dismissal for insubordination is scarcely known."[37] Each gang had its foreman. Men were quartered in dormitories suited to single workers, replacing the custom of sleeping in strawstacks. Harvest pay was by the day, or occasionally even by the hour.

When the brief harvest ended, dismissal was as sudden as the hiring had been. "Hard as such wholesale dismissal would be in Great Britain," wrote the envious Scotchman in the seventies, "it is no hardship here, for these men readily find lumberwork in the forests. It is obviously an enormous boon thus to get rid of men whom the farmer cannot profitably employ during the five winter months. Many an English wheat grower would gladly practise this retrenchment and send most of his staff to other vocations during the short days and bad weather of midwinter."[38]

By 1892 the United States Department of Agriculture was taking enough cognizance of the rise of migratory labor to comment on its location, the diversity of crops it was beginning to serve, and the farm laborer's contract of employment. Wheat was not the only user of migratory laborers but it led the crops that employed them. "There is a great difference in the relative proportion of transient labor in the several geographical divisions of the country," states a government report. "In the South engagements for the year are the natural and customary rule of labor contracts, and transient labor is only available to a limited extent, and only desirable for excess of cotton picking or for the trucking and fruitgrowing harvest exigencies, which are annually claiming increased importance. On the Atlantic coast market-gardening, orcharding, and berry-picking give increasing prominence to transient rural service. In the wheat-growing regions of the Northwest this class of farm labor assumes the highest importance and dominates the labor situation, as shown in the swelling rates of wages in Minnesota and the Dakotas."[39]

The labor migration which achieved its purest pattern in the Red River Valley of the North, became suffused over portions of the grain country settled earlier by working farmers. Some of these welcomed the flood of migratory labor as an aid while others avoided it as costly and competitive with their own labor. As a boy on a northwestern Iowa farm, Herbert Quick observed the difference in viewpoint. On his father's farm, so he wrote many years later, "we hired men who would now be called hobos, but were really good industrious young fellows out to make money when wages were high. They often followed the harvests from Texas to Manitoba." The German farmers of his n neighborhood, by contrast, clung long and hard to family labor. "They used their boys and girls and women in the harvest field" and thereby "got their harvests in with less expense than was possible by the Yankee way."[40] The opinion of large scale operators was just the reverse of that held by the German working farmers of Iowa. Migratory labor was not competitive with family labor from their point of view, but rather with steadily employed hired hands. In this comparison the advantage in cost to the employer lay all on the side of the migrant who, as the Scotch expert visiting the bonanzas of the Red River Valley had been quick to see, could be got "rid of" when not needed. Writing after the new system was established thoroughly William Allen White saw the migratory laborers simply as a necessary part of an established and smoothly functioning economic machine; they were "regular harvesters" among whom "hoboes" were only the conspicuous exceptions.

Whether a system of migratory seasonal labor meant higher or lower labor costs, helped smaller farmers or hurt them by competing with family labor, were not the only issues. Some farmers saw in it the complete breakdown of social relationships built on exchange of work between them in times of need. As a boy growing up on Middle Western farms Hamlin Garland was impressed by this aspect of the change. Looking back on the 1860's when the work pattern comprised family labor and exchange with neighbors, he recalled how "changing works used to bring the young men of the farms together."[41] By the 1870's, he noted, threshing time on his Iowa farm "was becoming each year less of a 'bee' and more of a job."[42] The boy was impressed unfavorably by the kind of men who accepted migratory farm labor, whom he found so different from his associates on neighboring farms. "Most of the harvest help that year," Garland wrote of the middle seventies, "were rough, hardy wanderers from the south, nomads who had followed the line of ripening wheat from Missouri northward. . . . They reached our neighborhood in July, arriving like a flight of alien unclean birds, and vanished into the north in September as mysteriously as they had appeared. A few of them had been soldiers, others were the errant sons of poor farmers and rough mechanics of older States, migrating for the adventure of it. . . . Some carried valises, others had nothing but small bundles containing a clean shirt and a few socks. . . .From these men. . . . I acquired a desolating fund of information concerning South Clark Street in Chicago, and the river front in St. Louis. . . . We had not known that such cruelty, such baseness was in the world. . . ."[43]

In the older sections of the Middle West farmers began to diversify crops as the continuous planting of the same lands to wheat brought failing yields, and as growing cities created nearby markets for other crops. Even while Minnesota on the outer fringe of the western wave was covering itself in wheat, this prospect for a more diversified agriculture in older areas that would demand more stable labor was foreseen by contemporaries. "Wheat culture still recedes before the footsteps of advancing population," wrote Horace Greeley in 1871, "and Minnesota may soon cease to grow for others as Western New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Northern Illinois, have already done. . . ."[44] With the coming of diversification on the older settled lands, the familiar practice of family labor augmented by seasonal aid from adjacent towns and villages, was adequate for a long time.

By the opening of the twentieth century the smaller farmers of the Red River Valley were beginning to be openly critical of some effects of the specialized wheat-culture that dominated their region. Like Hamlin Garland during the seventies, they were conscious of the disadvantages of a system of agriculture dependent on casual labor. In 1899 a professor of the North Dakota state experiment station attacked wheat specialization on many grounds. Diversification, he said, "distributes the farm work throughout the year more uniformly. It also makes a market for a considerable amount of time which could not otherwise be sold. . . . Another advantage is that it will enable those who hire help to get more men who will have yearly employment and by reason of that fact better men can be secured. Any plan which will dispense with careless 'hobo' labor upon the farms of this state and substitute competent, thinking men instead, will do much to advance farming interests."[45] Three years later, a farmer's wife was discussing at a North Dakota farmers' institute how to decrease the evils and increase the blessings of farm life. She began by tracing her ancestry "through an unbroken line of farmers to that time when each man of the Mayflower Pilgrims was allotted 'so much land as he could well and faithfully till.' Not a thousand-acre farm, but 'only so much land as he could well and faithfully till.'" Then she told her hearers that of all evils, "the one most destructive of happy family life on the farm in this section, is the attempted farming of too much land for the capital wherewith to do it well, resulting in exclusive wheat raising with its long periods of comparative idleness alternating with weeks of spasmodic labor when all the family work to exhaustion, taking into their midst as help, travelling transients or 'Hobos', four-fifths of whom are moral lepers."[46]

"Wheat farms and hobos go together" became a byword. In the intimacy of the farm family the contrast with migratory harvest hands was glaring. "Better sell half of your land in alternate sections to farmers with families, the thrifty, intelligent sort, that will build up a community, raising not wheat only but men and women as well. Then, perhaps, your boys and girls will not shock you with manners and morals which you are sure they never inherited." With a rhetorical question that reverberated through the Wheat Belt the farmer's wife demanded, "Which is worth most to you, No. 1 Hard Wheat or No. 1 boys and girls?"

Apparently not wholly confident of the effectiveness of moral exhortation as a means of altering the current practices, the farmer's wife combined her appeals with a hope that economic competition might save the Red River Valley from social demoralization. Her final statement was:

> What makes possible the many slum saloons and houses of ill fame that cluster so thickly in the Minnesota border towns, their long fingers reaching greedily over into Fargo and other parts of North Dakota that they may gather into their slimy clutches your boys as well as ours? Hobos. Who make up four-fifths of the inmates of our jails and alms-houses for honest taxpayers to support them? Hobos. What brings the hobo here? Wheat farms. So there you are, Mr. Non-resident Wheat Grower. Don't you see that you are somewhat interested in all this after all? That which touches your pocketbook touches you, I fancy. Perhaps the solution of this question is coming from Russia with its countless acres of wheat-growing plains which the Siberian railway is opening up for settlement. If Russian wheat can be raised more cheaply than ours, which seems probable, big wheat farms will soon be known no more in the Red River Valley. Historians tell us that New England has produced inferior wheat but great men. It is to be hoped that something will change the present tendency of things here, that the future historian will not be compelled to say to us:
>
> "'The Red River Valley, a region of wonderful fertility, where they once raised superior wheat but inferior men.' From such a record may Providence preserve us."[47]

Thus, farmers, farmers' wives, and agricultural experts of the Wheat Belt all recognized the difference between a system of family labor and hired men existing on the traditional farm, and migratory harvest hands produced by "the introduction of factory methods in wheat production."[48] The migrants knew it also, showing by their behavior each season where they thought their interests lay.

Upon rare occasions their thoughts found a way into print. In

1900 the Country Gentleman carried the pent-up bitterness of a farmer's son who years before had worked as a laborer. "In the West," he wrote, "no washing is done for farm help as a rule, and in Dakota, at least, the transient 'hobo', who is depended on for the harvest and threshing rush, is not provided with a bed, but catches a lousy blanket and a strawstack or a granary, and does not see a laundry or a bath during a whole season's campaign. He pays for his meals on rainy days and between jobs, and is looked upon and treated as a necessary evil."[49]

* * *

In California, wheat growing on a grand scale preceded the rise of bonanza farms in the Red River Valley by a decade or more. Availability of land in large tracts, level topography, assurance of rainless weather during an uninterrupted harvest season, and access to distant markets by sea favored great ranches specializing in wheat. "Between Stockton and Merced lie about six hundred square miles of wheat," wrote Charles Nordhoff in 1874. "Wheat, wheat, wheat, and nothing but wheat, is what you see on your journey, as far as the eye can reach over the plain in every direction. Fields of two, three, and four thousand acres make but small farms; here is a man who 'has in' 20,000 acres; here one with 40,000 acres, and another with some still more preposterous amount -- all in wheat."[50] In 1887 a speaker told the State Agricultural Society that the Sacramento Valley was "one broad wheat field, embracing an area of country almost equal to the State of Indiana."[51]

The rural life developed by large-scale agriculture in California in the sixties, like that in the Middle West, failed to commend itself to observers. Late in the decade Stephen Powers, who travelled "afoot and alone", set down his impressions. "If wheat is to be grown forever, and almost exclusively on the great body of the arable land of California," he wrote, "then these immense ranches, and the consequent hireling system, so baleful to California hitherto, will be perpetuated." Powers was not lacking in awareness of the personal shortcomings of the laborers who composed the migratory class. Among agricultural laborers, he wrote, "there are runaway sailors; reformed street thieves; bankrupt German scene-painters, who carry sixty pounds of blankets; old soldiers, who drink their employer's whiskey in his absence, and then fall into the ditch which they dug for a fence-row; all looking for 'jobs', or 'little jobs', but never steady work."[52] But Powers did not blame these laborers for the perpetuation of their condition. It was clear to him that the way wheat culture was carried on produced the migratory labor class. "If the land remains in vast ranches," he wrote, "these men will always continue hirelings and tramps."[53]

Some Californians were as critical of the labor system created in their State as were observers from elsewhere. In 1869 the State Agricultural Society reported to the Governor that the current manner of raising wheat was a "shameful and deplorable fact", detrimental alike to the State, the laborers, their employers, and to businessmen. "In planting, harvesting and marketing a single crop of grain, not over one-half of the year is necessarily consumed by our farmers. Thus, throughout our great agricultural districts," the Society declared, "there is a season of active labor for all and a season of idleness for all. As a result of this management of the agricultural industry of the State, there is lost to these districts, and to the State at large, each year, the profits of nearly half the agricultural labor of the State. As another result, all that large class of persons who depend for a livelihood on daily labor upon our farms are, during all this idle season, thrown out of employment, and are consequently deprived of the means of subsistence, and to compensate them for this idle season, they are compelled to demand of their employers proportionately high wages while they do labor. The employers, from the exigency of their position in the busy season, are, in turn, compelled to comply with this demand. Thus it turns out, that for the year's operations the farmers themselves realize about half what they should realize, and the labor they employ, though receiving double price for the time actually engaged, is but poorly paid. Hence, too, we find all these same laborers, during the balance of the year, running up and down through the State, with no money in their pockets, looking for employment. Such is their condition at this present time, as every farmer and every hotel-keeper in the country can testify."[54]

The laborers were discontented, and many of them were as unsatisfactory and unsteady as the work which their agricultural employers offered them. John Hayes saw this relationship as clearly in the 1870's as Stephen Powers and the State Agricultural Society before him, and as Carleton Parker saw it later, just before the first world war. "Knowing the condition of the laborer," he wrote in the Overland Monthly magazine, "we need not be surprised at his discontent; but that he has so many grounds for discontent, creates astonishment. To see him toiling along the dusty highway, penniless, weary, and foot-sore, begging a ride from the teamsters, begging a meal of victuals from the farmers, none would suppose him a denizen of a State advertised over the world for the extent and fertility of a soil to be obtained there for nothing! Having no permanent residence, making no enduring friends, coming daily into contact with strangers whose only object is to make the most out of him and then turn him adrift, it is not a matter of much surprise that his vices attain the highest development; that his virtues become dimmed, and finally extinguished."[55]

However unsatisfactory as people, as citizens, and even as laborers the migratory workers might be, their migratory habits made them attractive to employers. Since they came when needed and left when not needed, they relieved the employer of responsibility for their maintenance during periods of idleness. They left him free to specialize his operations, unhampered by any limitations from lack of labor. This freedom became so complete that some landowners in California, like their counterparts in the Middle Western Wheat Belt, were almost as much non-residents as their laborers. In criticism of "a growing evil in our State," the Pacific Rural Press wrote in 1872: "They 'live in town' and when seed time comes they leave an order at the Labor Exchange for 50 men, more or less, and proceeding to their broad acres, the gangplows and harrows are started and the job is quickly over. Then all hands are discharged and no more work done until harvest, when the twenty-feet headers, the steam thresher and freighting teams to convey the sacks to the railroad or steamboat landing are all busy at the same time. They make short work of this also and again the men are discharged to wander about looking for more work or idly 'killing time.'"[56]

While the brevity of the harvest season placed pressure on laborers to push wages up to cover the inevitable period of idleness to come, the competition of California wheat in the world market placed pressure on employers to keep wages down. To employers, their interest in procuring cheap labor, if not the necessity for it, seemed axiomatic. Reasonable laborers, they felt, would submit gracefully to what their employers could afford to pay and accept the downward pressure of competition on wages. "I believe to-day that fifty thousand white laborers, in addition to those already here, can find homes or employment here, did they desire it and were willing to comply with the laws regulating the relation of master and servant," said President Shafter of the State Agricultural Society. "One of these laws is, the servant must work for such wages as his master can pay, and that master should pay such price for labor as not merely supports life, but should be the result of a fair division of profits between the capital and labor invested. How is it to-day? I doubt if the agricultural lands of this State are paying, upon the scale of this fair division, eight per cent. per annum upon the capital invested. I doubt if they pay six per cent. . . . and still the agricultural and mechanical laborer of the East promises, or threatens, to drive us from the market. Still the workman says, 'I cannot live like the Chinaman, nor work for Chinaman's wages.' I hope to God, my friend, that you may be compelled to do neither; but this condition of things is independent of the Chinaman, and one which demands the serious consideration of both employer and employed. You may get rid of the presence of the Chinaman, though not of his competition; but you cannot get rid of the competition of cheap labor, or machinery, and the busy hands of your Eastern brothers."[57]

The California large-scale wheat growers had a peculiar advantage over those of the Red River Valley in the supply of undemanding Chinese laborers. With full appreciation of the growers' necessities and of the manner in which the Chinese met them, Horace Davis, later a Congressman and President of the University of California, wrote this description for the Overland Monthly. "When wheat is reaped it is usually bound in sheaves; and Chinamen are often put to this work," he wrote in 1868. "Everywhere in the harvest season, farm hands are very scarce, and the best of anti-coolie men are glad to avail themselves of John Chinaman's help as a binder, and often as a cook.

So poor John spreads a dirty tent in some corner of the field near water, sleeps on the ground, works by star-light, lives on rice of his own cooking, and will soon be indispensable to our wheat growers. We must have the labor from some source; and if China can give us the men, the fields will never be idle. Nor does the eight-hour law fare any better in the country. The work begins before sunrise; and the laborers go to rest with the sun." Except, that is, when they worked at night. "Of course," continued Davis, "the farmers have no house-room for all these men; and so, secure against rain, they camp out in tents, or under the trees, if there be any; or sleep on the straw by the light of the stars."[58]

Not all the large wheat growers of California were in favor of Chinese cheap laborers, but some of them worked actively against any restriction on their coming, and even made efforts to accelerate the influx. Indeed, the Congressional Committee on Chinese Immigration in 1876 interrogated California witnesses with particular care in order to make it clear that ample supplies of Chinese cheap laborers were a positive encouragement to agricultural employers to engage on a large scale in one-crop wheat farming.

The vexations and irritations produced by the rise of migratory labor were on both sides. Agricultural employers frequently held a low opinion of their men, and expressed it. In a statement of "Men Wanted" for the 1872 harvests, the San Joaquin Republican took opportunity to deliver this taunt: "Now then, you big, sturdy fellows, who are loafing around San Francisco, looking for work, and hoping all the time that you won't find it, here is a chance for you all."[59] Later in the same year the Pacific Rural Press carried this bitter complaint against white laborers who, after beginning to harvest, sought an advance of wages: "If the farmer refuses to yield to the exorbitant demand, and for non-compliance with contract on the part of the laborer he refuses to pay, or retains a part as a guarantee of continued work, the civilized man utterly refuses to do another day's work; leaves, and more than likely within a week, by a remarkable dispensation of divine providence (?) the farmer's stacks or grain fields are found in a blaze."[60] This friction could be avoided, the statement added, by hiring Chinese instead of whites.

One of California's largest agricultural employers delivered a broadside condemnation of white labor before the Congressional Committee on Chinese Immigration in 1876, as a reason why further importations of Chinese were necessary. "The character of the labor generally in California is very bad other than that of the Chinamen," he testified, "What has contributed to make the American laborer so good for nothing . . . . I do not know. Perhaps labor-leagues have had something to do with it. Perhaps the general disinclination to work which has grown out of the war may have had something to do with it. At any rate, the fact is patent that the American today has made up his mind to live off his wits and not work." "I say that the rule for American laborers today is to be drunkards. They are bummers. . ."[61]

Complaints by laborers against their employers seldom found their way into print, but those which did, set down pretty clearly the nature of their discontent. They objected to the new division between agricultural employer and migratory laborer, in which unemployment, poor conditions, and an ever present awareness of the low esteem in which the employer held him was the lot of the laborer. While the Pacific Rural Press was running a series of letters by farmers on the treatment of laborers in 1874, one by a laborer was included. Under title of "A farm hand's complaint" it said, "The worst class of farmers to work for are those who farm on a large scale; those who are able to provide better for their hands if they would. If we work for a poor farmer we get a bed in the house, and sit at the same table with the family, and sit at his fire and read his papers, and enjoy the comforts of his house generally. But with the large farmers we have to furnish our own bed, if we have any; if not, may be he will be kind enough to give us an old piece of blanket or quilt, or a few old sacks to cover ourselves with. He will tell us to go out in the barn or in the granary, or to the hay stack to sleep. Then when we get up in the morning and take care of our teams, we stand around the barn until the cook (a Chinaman usually) says breakfast is ready. Then we walk around the house to the kitchen; there we find a place to wash ourselves out of an old barrel or a milk pan; then we wipe on the towel or piece of barley sack, that hangs there for us only; then comb our hair - that is, if we happen to have a comb of our own. . . . If we want to go anyplace we have to walk. . . . If we are walking along the road and one of them overtakes us we scarcely ever ask for a ride, because we know that he does not like to have us ride with him.

"If the farmer gets good steady hands, as he calls them, he will keep them just as long as he has plenty of work for them, and just the minute the work is done they must go, rain or shine. He doesn't say 'Boys, stop until the storm is over.' No, he would not let them stop if they offered to pay for their board, he would not have them around his place; they have to take their blankets and clothes on their back and march - to town or through the country - to look for another place to work; and thus they are treated by the rich farmers."[62]

While large-scale agricultural employers were ready to disparage their seasonal workers, others in California laid a train of causation producing the unsatisfactory condition at the employer's doorstep. It was his own decisions, they pointed out, that determined the character of the occupation and to a degree molded the qualities of the laborers who engaged in it. Thus the San Francisco Call carried an item from San Jose in 1870, answering a charge by farmers thereabouts that the impossibility of obtaining faithful and trustworthy laborers in seasons of greatest need obliged them to take unqualified, undependable men. "One, and the principal reason why we have so few desirable laborers," said the item, "is, that working-men are only employed on farms, in the ploughing time, for a few weeks, and then discharged and left without work until the harvest season is at hand, and then again they only find work for a month or so, when they are afterward expected to wait until ploughing time again for a few weeks' work. This system compels the laborer to go into the towns and cities, and there to do the best he can at work which he is unacquainted with, and for which he generally gets very poor remuneration; . . . he frequently forms bad associations and intemperate habits, which of themselves disqualify him for the sober duties of farm life."[63] The remedy suggested was to plan farm work so as to provide steady jobs.

The mutually unfriendly attitudes of large employers and migratory laborers marked the extremes among those whom one-crop wheat culture was separating. They made working farmers and other Californians uneasy, and induced frequent protests. "The farm laborers of California have not been treated as they are in older parts of the country," said the speaker in the opening address before the district Agricultural Society at Ukiah in 1887. "They are required to furnish blankets, and sleep in straw. They are fed in moving hotels, on wheels, under a burning sun. There are no home comforts afforded here to the farm laborer. In the Eastern States, farm laborers are a part of the family; they eat at the table with their employers -- they are self-respecting citizens of the republic. Every employment first attracts the character of the people willing to engage in that employment. Make the employment of men brutal, and you must depend upon a brutalized class to fill the positions it offers, a class that will become more embruted by the character of its treatment."[64]

Men urged kindness, but they knew that the frictions of the new labor relationship were not to be settled by human kindness alone. They saw that the old agricultural structure based on the working farmer was being sundered. This was upsetting to one of America's most cherished traditions and they were disturbed at the prospect. "The danger is, there will be too few farms and these too large," farmers of the San Joaquin Valley in their agricultural association were told in the annual address of 1884. "A republic cannot long survive when the lands are concentrated in the hands of a few men. Any man will fight for his home, but it takes a very brave man to fight for the privilege of working for half wages."[65]

Six years later a prominent citizen of the Sacramento Valley, invited to give the annual address before the same agricultural association, told of the destruction of rural life by one-crop wheat culture. "Wheat growing," he said, ". . . is a great industry. A single county in California - Colusa - has produced 2 percent of the wheat of the United States. The wheat growers, succeeding the cattle growers, got possession of all the best land of the State. With large areas it was and is a profitable business. . . . The consequence has been that each wheat grower has been striving to enlarge his possessions, and the banner wheat county has had a decrease of agricultural population in the last ten years. As the large wheat farmer bought out his neighbor, and shut up school houses, he saw the necessity of doing something in a social way for his family, and he moved to the city, leaving hired men or renters in charge, with no improvements, no orchards, no shade trees, no nothing on the land but a cook-house on wheels, presided over by a heathen Chinese."[66]

At the turn of the century J. R. Dodge, statistician of the United States Department of Agriculture, surveyed the migratory labor system over the nation, in wheat and other crops. He expressed his distaste for it in his report to the Industrial Commission, saying, ". . . the annuanl inundation of grain fields in harvest time, hop yards in the picking season, fruit picking in districts of extensive market orchards, and similar harvest seasons requiring large numbers of hands for a short time, has a demoralizing effect on farm labor, reducing efficiency in those lines. Such employments demand little skill; the requirements of each are simple and easily satisfied. They constitute a low order of farm labor, if worthy to be classed with it at all, and are excrescences upon its fair face."[67] About the same time he said in the Country Gentleman that it was "an unfortunate system, debasing in many of its influences, but necessary under existing conditions."[68]

Whether migratory labor was "necessary" or "unnecessary" depended largely on point of view, i.e., on one's interests or definition of "necessity." Dodge's views probably were generally accepted. At any rate the protests against "existing conditions" in the second half of the nineteenth century that produced the migratory labor system were nowhere strong enough to diminish its use seriously. Its reduction or disappearance would come much later, if at all, and for other reasons than because it conflicted with men's ideals of "the farmer," "the farm laborer," or the good rural society.

Footnotes.

1. This article is one of a series on historical aspects of labor in American agriculture. Earlier papers are: "The American hired man: his rise and decline", in Land Policy Review, Vol. VI, No. 1, Spring 1943, pp. 3 - 17; "Plantation laborer before the civil war", in Agricultural History, Vol. 28, No. 1, January 1954, pp. 1 - 21. I acknowledge gratefully the financial aid of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University of California, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the John R. Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation. William W. Allan, Klaus Loewald and Beverly Starika aided in preparation of this paper.
2. _Transactions of Illinois State Agricultural Society. 1869 - 70_, p. 227.
3. I saw this method of harvesting in small fields and on steep slopes in Virginia and North Carolina in the late 1930's.
4. Leo Rogin, "Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in Agriculture in the United States. . .", _Univ. Calif. Publ. Econ._, Vol. IX, pp. 130, 131.
5. _Rural New Yorker_, Vol. 13, (1862), p. 237.
6. _Ibid._, Vol. 8, (1857), p. 141.
7. _Ibid._, Vol. 13, (1862), p. 237.
8. U.S.D.A. Division of Statistics, Misc. Report No. 5, (1892), p. 64.
9. Rural New Yorker, Vol. 7, (1855), p. 412.
10. _Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review_, Vol. XII, (1845), p. 308.
11. _Loc. cit._
12. Edmund Ruffin, in American Farmer, n.s., Vol. 6, p. 457, quoted in Rogin, _op. cit._, p. 131.
13. _Country Gentleman_, Vol. 3, (1854), p. 21.

14. *Transactions of Illinois State Agricultural Society, 1860-64*, pp. 236, 523.

15. *Country Gentleman*, Vol. 16, (1860), p. 129.

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. 26, (1865), p. 68.

17. *Southern Cultivator*, Vol. 29, (1871), p. 224.

18. Rogin, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

19. *Transactions of Illinois State Agricultural Society, 1869-70*, p. 227.

20. *Loc. cit.*

21. Except where teams of laborers boarded themselves, as described below in custom labor operations in Kansas, or where laborers served large estates with boarding houses, rather than family farms; i.e., the burden on wives was where migrants served family-size farms.

22. *Country Gentleman*, Vol. 34, (1869), p. 139.

23. G. W. Schatzel, "Among the Wheat Fields of Minnesota", *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVI, (1868), pp. 190 - 201.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

26. John Lee Coulter, "Industrial History of the Valley of the Red River of the North", *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. III, 1910, p. 581.

27. William Allen White, "The Business of a Wheat Farm", *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. 22, No. 5, Nov. 1897, p. 534.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 541. In 1890 approximately 19,000 farm hands were employed in North Dakota for an average of 4.7 months. In 1891, about 15,000 were employed for an average of 5.5 months. (*Second Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1892*, p. 124.) The duration of employment among migratory harvest laborers was doubtless far below the averages.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 543. "Blind baggage" is the space between coal tender and baggage car; "side-door sleepers" are box-cars.

30. Henry King, "Picturesque Features of Kansas Farming", *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Nov. 1879, p. 134.

31. *Loc. cit.*

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

33. *Loc. cit.*

34. *Loc. cit.* The use of costly machinery and migratory labor in wheat favored the large over the small farmer. A study of wheat costs just after the turn of the century pointed this out. "Concentration in farming by managing the lands in large estates would result in a more systematic organization of some features of farm production. The values consumed in farm machinery, for example, can undoubtedly be decreased under extensive farming conditions, and transient labor also can be more easily employed and more effectively utilized." "The 'bonanza farmer' has a great advantage over the 'small farmer' in this respect [use of machinery] and the advantage can be met only by cooperating in the ownership of such farm machines as are adapted to cooperative use." (W.M. Hays and E.C. Parker, "The Cost of Producing Farm Products; Methods of Investigation; Cost of Growing Minnesota Field Crops, 1902, 1903, 1904", *U.S.D.A. Bureau of Statistics*, Bulletin No. 48, (1906), pp. 11, 81.)

35. *U.S.D.A. Division of Statistics, Miscellaneous Series*, Report No. 4, p. 47.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

37. *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2 and 3, Jan. and April 1933; in No. 3, p. 99.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

39. *U.S.D.A. Division of Statistics, Misc. Series*, Report No. 4, p. 7.

40. Herbert Quick, "One Man's Life", *The Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 198, No. 3, July 18, 1925, p. 169.
41. Hamlin Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border*, Macmillan, New York, 1919, p.209.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.
44. Horace Greeley, *What I Know of Farming*, 1871, p. 37.
45. Ag. Expt. Sta. of N.D., 1889, p. 98.
46. Mrs. E.T. Curtiss, "Our Farm Life, How to Decrease its Evils and Increase its Blessings", *North Dakota Farmers' Institute, 1900-04*, Annual No. 3, 1902, p. 47.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
48. John Lee Coulter, "Industrial History of the Valley of the Red River of the North", *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Vol. III, 1910, p. 582.
49. *Country Gentleman*, Vol. 65, (1900), p. 721.
50. Charles Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence*, Harper, New York, 1874, p. 182.
51. *Transactions of California Agricultural Society*, 1887, p. 737.
52. Stephen Powers, *Afoot and Alone*, Columbian Book Co., Hartford, 1872, pp. 310, 315.
53. *Op. cit.*, p. 310.
54. *Transactions of California Agricultural Society, 1868 and 1869*, pp. 11-12.
55. John Hayes, "A New View of the Labor Question", *Overland Monthly*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Feb. 1871, p. 140.
56. *Pacific Rural Press*, Vol. III, 1872, p. 73.
57. *Transaction of California Agricultural Society, 1878*, pp. 123-124.

58. Horace Davis, "Wheat in California", Overland Monthly, Vol. I, No. 5, Nov. 1868, pp. 449-450.

59. Pacific Rural Press, Vol. III, 1872, p. 245.

60. Ibid., Vol. IV, 1872, p. 97.

61. Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration, Senate Report No. 689, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 767, 768, 787.

62. Pacific Rural Press, Vol. VII, 1874, p. 210.

63. San Francisco Call, Sept. 28, 1870.

64. Transactions of California State Agricultural Society, 1887, pp. 738, 739.

65. Ibid., 1884, p. 285.

66. Ibid., 1890, p. 416.

67. Report of the U.S. Industrial Commission on Agriculture and on Taxation in Various States, Vol. XI, 1901, p. 79.

68. Country Gentleman, Vol. 65, 1900, p. 941.

[Excerpt from S. Rept. 1150, pt. 3, 77 Cong., 2d sess., Report of the Committee on Education and Labor pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), a resolution to investigate violations of the right of free speech and assembly and interference with the right to organize. . . .]

CHAPTER 1. THE PATTERN OF EARLY LAND SETTLEMENT AND USE THROUGH 1870

Early Spanish and Mexican colonial agriculture in California was marred by the creation of a pattern of land settlement and use which is still characteristic of much of California agriculture. That pattern is the ownership and cultivation of land in large tracts, worked by gang labor. The early Spanish and Mexican grantees used a primitive Indian labor to establish a type of farming in which a disproportionate share of the benefits of the enterprise went to the few individuals who owned the land and directed its use.

An historical analysis of this early period of Spanish and Mexican agriculture is included in a study entitled "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California." [2] It is the principal basis for the summary that follows.

When efforts at colonization through some twenty-odd Spanish missions did not establish any substantial civilian population in California, the political rulers sought to stimulate independent private enterprise and civilian colonization by making private land grants. These Spanish land grants became a significant institution. Some 25 grants were made before the end of the Spanish regime in 1822, and 13 additional grants were made by the succeeding Mexican Government before 1833. The years 1833–46 saw a large proportion of the most valuable farm land in California pass from the public domain into private hands in the form of some 428 grants, ranging from 4,000 acres to 300,000 acres. These grants were spotted primarily along the coast, with concentrations at San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and around San Francisco Bay. There were a few in the San Joaquin Valley.

These grants were chiefly devoted to grazing livestock, and the native Indian population became vaqueros and pastores. Grains, fruits, and vegetables were produced in limited volume for local consumption, hides and tallows being the primary exportable products.

The grantees usually came from a section of the Spanish population which was unaccustomed and disinclined to perform heavy manual work. They sought a ready labor supply in the native Indian population which had been trained under the mission system. In the relatively short period between 1833 and 1846 this labor force was practically impressed into service. Impressment for alleged crime, debt peonage, and an occasional resort to outside seizure and force have been alluded to by various historians as the means employed for maintaining the labor supply.[3]

This system of cultivation, with the population available, did not develop stability and its outlines faded from the scene after the transfer of California to the United States in 1848. The monopolistic pattern of land settlement and ownership was, however, carried forward under the new regime.

The status of laborers on the land was one of the first public issues to arise after the cession of California to the United States. Yet, this issue did not primarily concern the impressed Indian laborer. Rather it was an echo of the battle between contending forces of the North and South, involved in a bitter dispute as to whether or not the plantation system of the South would be permitted to encroach further upon the rising tide of American economic democracy. While minor skirmishes involving the practice of impressment of Indian labor were reported,[4] the debate was largely addressed to the transplanting of the slave system of the old South to California. The series of efforts to open California to slavery was unsuccessful.

Perhaps the more significant counterpart of the struggle on the national scene was a long period of agitation for a more democratic land-settlement system which cluminated in the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862. Broadly, the Homestead Act provided for the establishment of a pattern of land settlement which would prevent the monopolization of the public domain by a relatively few large landholders. The technique adopted for this purpose was the opening of the public domain to settlement on a free-land basis in relatively small units by those who would occupy and operate these lands as working farmer-owners.

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[2] See pt. 54, exhibit 8762–A, pp. 19777–19878. The author of this study is Dr. Varden Fuller, associate agricultural economist of the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

[3] Id., pp. 19789–19790.

[4] Id., pp. 19792–19793.

Whatever effect the Homestead Act may have had upon the development of agricultural patterns in other sections of the country, the settlement of California proceeded with but slight conformity to the intentions of its proponents. Recently a commentator summarized the workings of the land laws in the early period of development:

"Land monopolization in California dates back to the Spanish and Mexican periods when large grants were made to favored individuals. After investigation by an American commission, 588 of these claims amounting to 8,850,143 acres, or an average of 15,051 acres each, were confirmed. Following 1848 there came a rapid influx of settlers which, together with the large profits realized from the grazing industry in the interior valleys, created a land boom and led to extensive purchases. With great areas of land in the San Joaquin and Sacramento valleys open to cash purchase the opportunity for speculative profits was unparalleled elsewhere; nor was the opportunity neglected. From 1862 to 1880 land sales and warrant and scrip entries in California were on an enormous scale, surpassing all other states for the period and in some years comprising well over half of the sales for the entire country. In the single year, ending June 30, 1869, 1,726,794 acres were sold in this state by the Federal government, and for the entire period from 1862 to 1880 well over 7,000,000 acres were entered with cash, warrants, or scrip. It should also be remembered that the State of California which received 8,426,380 acres from the Federal government was disposing of its most valuable holdings at this time.

"Greatest of all the speculators operating in California was William S. Chapman, whose political influence stretched from Sacramento to St. Paul, Minnesota, and Washington, D.C. Of him it was said, with apparent justice, that land officers, judges, local legislators, officials in the Department of the Interior, and even higher dignitaries were ready and anxious to do him favors, frequently of no mean significance. Between 1868 and 1871 Chapman entered at the Federal land offices approximately 650,000 acres of land in California and Nevada with cash, scrip, and warrants. At the same time he entered additional land through dummy entrymen, purchased many thousands of acres of "swamp" lands from the State of California, and otherwise added to his possessions till they totaled over 1,000,000 acres. Fraud, bribery, false swearing, forgery, and other crimes were charged against him but he passed them off with little trouble. The most remarkable feature about his vast acquisitions is that when plotted on a land-use map today they appear to be among the choicest of the lands. Chapman was not able to retain this vast empire for long. He became deeply involved in a grand canal project and eventually lost his lands, many of them going to a more constructive but equally spectacular land plunger, Henry Miller.

"Miller, unlike Chapman, bought lands for his cattle business which was his main interest. As the activities of his firm—Miller and Lux, of which he was the chief promoter—expanded, he pushed his land acquisitions until they mounted to over a million acres. One hundred and eighty-one thousand acres of this amount were acquired directly from the Federal government, with cash, Agricultural College scrip, and military warrants; large amounts were purchased from Chapman and other big land speculators and from the State of California. Miller's lands were slowly irrigated, parts were disposed of to small farmers, and upon them today exists a veritable agricultural empire.

"Other large purchases of land in California were Isaac Friedlander, E. H. Miller, and John W. Mitchell, who acquired 214,000, 105,000 and 78,000 acres respectively. The total amount purchased from the Federal government by Chapman, Miller and Lux, Friedlander, E. H. Miller, and Mitchell was one and a quarter million acres. Forty three other large purchasers acquired 905,000 acres of land in the sixties in California. Buying in advance of settlement, these men were virtually thwarting the Homestead Law in California where, because of the enoromous monopolization above outlined, homesteaders later were able to find little good land." [5]

The author just quoted mentioned the confirmation of Spanish and Mexican land grants in the amount of 8,850,143 acres, the granting of 8,426,380 acres to the State of California, and the entry of more than 7,000,000 acres with cash, warrants or scrip prior to 1880. Lands finally patented in grants in aid of railroad construction in Cailfornia, the bulk of which were made during this early period, amounted in all to 11,458,212 acres.[6] Taken all together, these transfers of land amounted to approximately 35¾ million acres of land, or well over a third of the total area of the State.

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[5] Gates, Paul Wallace, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System," American Historical Review, July 1936, pp. 668–669.

By 1905 there was a total of nearly 45,000,000 acres of land in non-Federal ownership in California,[7] including virtually the entire area now in farms with the exception of a few relatively small sections which subsequently were developed by irrigation. The figures cited in the paragraph above fail to account for approximately 9,000,000 acres of land. These were entered in part with cash, warrants or scrip subsequent to 1880, some under the Desert Land Act and the Timber and Stone Act, and others under the provisions of the Homestead Act. It is not possible to determine with accuracy what proportion of the letter was entered by bona fide homesteaders, and what proportion was entered fraudulently. Paul Wallace Gates mentioned the fraudulent entries made by one early plunger through the device of dummy entrymen[8] and unquestionably this and other practices of dubious legality occurred on a wide-spread scale. The report of the Commission on Public Lands, submitted to Congress by the President on February 13, 1905, stated:

"Detailed study of the practical operation of the present land laws, particularly of the desert-land act and the commutation clause of the homestead act, shows that their tendency far too often is to bring about land monopoly rather than to multiply small holdings by actual settlers. The land laws, decisions, and practices have become so complicated that the settler is at a marked disadvantage in comparison with the shrewd business man who aims to acquire large properties. Not infrequently their effect is to put a premium on perjury and dishonest methods in the acquisition of land. It is apparent, in consequence, that in very many localities, and perhaps in general, a larger proportion of the public land is passing into the hands of speculators and corporations than into those of actual settlers who are making homes.

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"* * * Nearly everywhere the large landowner has succeeded in monopolizing the best tracts, whether of timber or agricultural land. * * *

"Your Commission has had inquiries made as to how a number of estates, selected haphazard, have been acquired. Almost without exception collusion or evasion of the letter and spirit of the land laws was involved. It is not necessarily to be inferred that the present owners of these estates were dishonest, but the fact remains that their holdings were acquired or consolidated by practices which cannot be defended."[9]

It is apparent, without further elaboration, that only a very small acreage of land in California was entered by bona fide homesteaders, in comparison to the acreage entered by other means. This circumstance resulted in the monopolization of much of the land in the State in immense holdings which, not without justice, gave rise to the characterization of the large landowners as the "land barons." The report of the Commission on Public Lands viewed this development in these terms:

"There exists and is spreading in the West a tenant or hired-labor system which not only represents a relatively low industrial development, but whose further extension carries with it a most serious threat. Politically, socially, and economically this system is indefensible. Had the land laws been effective and effectually enforced its growth would have been impossible."[10]

Thus the pattern of land settlement, established in the Spanish and Mexican periods, was carried over into the American regime in California between 1850 and 1870. This concentrated landownership did not preclude the possibility of the development of a system of operation and subdivision which would have been in conformity with the working family-farmer concept that was the more usual development in other sections of the country. It did, however, provide the frame-work for the development of large-scale agriculture which has, in fact, continued to develop. As the available statistics of the period show, these large units, when brought under cultivation, were worked by wage laborers. Only to a limited extent did the large landowners in California operate their holdings through tenants.[11]

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[6] General Land Office, Information Bulletin, 1939 series, No. 5, 1940, p. V.

[7] Quoted in annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, June 30, 1905.

[8] Gates, op. cit., pp. 668–669.

[9] Quoted in annual report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, June 30, 1905, p. 51.

[10] Id., p. 52.

The most spectacular development in California agriculture from an operating standpoint, following the cession to the United States was the development of large-scale wheat farms. These grain farms developed as livestock operations were curtailed under the impact of the droughts of 1862–1864. Farms as large as 20 to 40 thousand acres were established, because availability of land in large parcels and evenness of topography permitted an efficient use of large-scale equipment. This development was not only large scale but specialized and speculative.

The method of cultivation was characterized by a rapid advance from primitive instruments to the use of types of machines which were the forerunners of the modern machine sower, multishared plow, and the combine harvester. In this sense, the wheat farms of early California agriculture, together with their counterparts in the Great Plains area, stand as an early example of the impact of mechanization on agriculture and agricultural labor. The development of mechanized sowing and plowing confined the great peaks of labor demand to the harvesting season since the combine harvester was not perfected for use until after 1880.[12] Between the periods of planting and harvesting there was little to require the attention and effort of the farm laborers.

Under these circumstances the use of a force of seasonal migratory agricultural laborers developed. During this period the laborer was usually a disappointed gold seeker or floating immigrant who had not found his place in the rapidly changing economy of the period. These migratory seasonal laborers replaced the Indians as a source of labor supply. The very low costs of production on large-scale farms and the absence of a type of employment that encouraged a movement up the "agricultural ladder" from farm laborer to operator served to minimize the rate of subdivision and tended to maintain the system of large-scale operation and specialization. The smaller farms of the more usual family-size pattern, when developed, appeared along the valleys tributary to San Francisco Bay and the coastal areas where there was access to the markets in the towns. While there was a substantial increase in the number of these smaller farms, the new large-scale wheat farm and the old large-scale cattle operation continued to dominate the agricultural scene.

The effects of large-scale specialized agriculture on the economic status of those who worked the land were noted by the State Agricultural Society in California as early as 1869, which commented as follows:

"It is a shameful and deplorable fact, that many of the naturally best grain-producing portions of our State have been cropped every year, for from ten to fifteen years in succession, with grain, and in many cases with an unvaried single crop—wheat * * * throughout the agricultural districts, there is a season of active labor for all and a season of idleness for all. As a result of this management of our great agricultural industry of the State, there is lost to these districts, and to the State at large, each year, the profits of nearly half the agricultural labor of the State. As another result, all that large class of persons who depend for their livelihood on daily labor upon our farms, are during this idle season, thrown out of employment, and are consequently deprived of the means of subsistence, and to compensate them for this idle season, they are compelled to demand of their employers proportionally high wages while they do labor. The employers, who farm the exigency of their position in the busy season, are, in turn, compelled to comply with this demand. Thus it turns out, that for the year's operation the farmers themselves realize about half what they should realize, and the labor they employ, though receiving double price for the time actually engaged, is but poorly paid." [13]

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[11] In 1880, the first year for which data are available, 19.8 percent of all farms in the State, or a total of 7,124 farms were operated by tenants (U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1930, vol. IV, p. 222). On the other hand, as early as 1870 a total of 16,231 farm laborers were reported and in 1880 the number of laborers had risen to 23,856; see pt. 54, exhibit 8762–A, table 33, p. 19888.

[12] See Rogin, Leo, The Introduction of Farm Machinery, University of California, Publications in Economics 9 (1931), pp. 42–44.

[13] Quoted by Varden Fuller in exhibit 8762–A, pt. 54, p. 19806.

Just as the pattern of land ownership and operation had become established in the period 1830 to 1850, so in the period from 1850 to 1870 the nature of the employment of workers in the agricultural labor market was fixed. Responding to the seasonal demands for their labor, the "bundle" tramps migrated through the agricultural areas during the busy seasons and gravitated into the cities during the slack periods, failing to find in their temporary employment any adequate support on an annular basis. One of the acute observers of California agriculture during this period was Henry George who, in speaking of the farm laborers of California of 1871, said:

"And over our ill-kept, shadeless, dusty roads, where a house is an unwonted landmark, and which run frequently for miles through the same man's land, plod the tramps, with blankets on back, the labourers of the California farmer, looking for work, in its seasons, or toiling back to the city when the plowing is ended or the wheat crop is gathered:" [14]

Several developments in the character of the labor supply during this period should be noted. In 1850 there were only 872 farms. The adventurers who responded to the challenge of great wealth in California in connection with the gold rush did not readily fit into the system as reliable farm laborers. For them farm labor was only a temporary pursuit. The Indian working force, while available, was not adequate for a rapidly expanding agriculture. Vast acreages of land, rich, fertile, and enjoying a favorable climate, were being rapidly developed. Many factors favorable to production for an external market began to appear. Under all these circumstances it is not surprising to find evidences of a concern for increasing the population by immigration and developing sources of labor supply. As early as 1853. Californians were considering methods of securing immigrants from outside the State. In 1857 a group of Californians were reported to be in New York, advertising and arranging for the transportation of labor to California.[15] This necessity for encouraging immigration was discussed by the California State Agricultural Society for many years, beginning in 1865:

"For the past ten years it has been evident to all who have given the subject a careful through, that nothing would contribute so much to the advancement of our prosperity as a common wealth, as the influx of a large immigration of industrious citizens. Every class of the community experiences the want of labor." [16]

However, early endeavors to influence the migration of laborers to the Pacific coast were counteracted by literature issued by the San Francisco labor unions. Circulars warning laborers that California was no place for a poor man were sent throughout the United States. In 1869 the California Immigrant Union was formed with the broad objective of encouraging immigration from Europe and the eastern part of the United States to California. It was a service not only for agriculturists but for all employer interests. This organization sponsored the distribution throughout the Eastern States of a pamphlet entitled "All About California," which, among other things, emphasized the vast opportunities in agriculture.

The tremendous increase in the white population in California during the period from 1850 to 1870 [17] did, however, provide the labor pool from which large-scale California agriculture was able to draw its first group of seasonal migratory workers. The first foreign labor, the Chinese, began to appear on California farms during this period. Between the years 1850 to 1870, the Chinese on the Pacific coast increased from 7,000 to approximately 70,000, and the census of 1870 revealed that the Chinese constituted approximately one-tenth of the farm labor group in California.[18] They were engaged for the most part in wheat fields, hop fields, and orchards. As early as 1854 the agricultural interests visualized the Chinese as the labor pool for a greatly expanded agriculture. In that year, the following statement appeared in the California Farmer:

"California is destined to become a large grower of Cotton, Rice, Tobacco, Sugar, Tea, and Coffee [sic] and where shall the laborers be found? Americans will not become the working men of our tule land, in our Rice Fields and our Cotton plantations and other departments of the same kind of labor. At [in] the South, this is the work of the slave, but slavery cannot exist here. California is a Free State—her citizens have spoken it—human progress has uttered it—God has said it. Then where shall the laborers be found? The Chinese! And everything tends to this—those great walls of China are to be broken down and that population, educated, schooled and drilled in the cultivation of these products, are [sic] to be to California what the African has been to the South. This is the decree of the Almighty, and man cannot stop it."[19]

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[14] Quoted by Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, Little, Brown & Co., 1939, p. 25.
[15] See pt. 54, exhibit 8762–A, p. 19799.
[16] Quoted by Varden Fuller in exhibit 8762–A, pt. 54, p. 19800.
[17] See pt. 54, exhibit 8762–A, p. 19801.
[18] Ibid.

However, it was sometime later that the release of the Chinese from work on the Central Pacific transcontinental railroad and their forcible expulsion from the mines resulted in their movement into the form labor market. The suitability of the Chinese as a cheap labor supply for large-scale agriculture is reflected in an early comment that they were employed to such an extent as to "soon become indispensable to our wheat growers * * *. We must have labor from some source; and if China can give us the men, the fields will never lie idle * * * poor John spreads a dirty tent in some corner of the field near water, sleeps on the ground, works by starlight, lives on rice of his own cooking * * *." [20]

Thus, some of the aspects of the California farm labor problem observable in recent years find their counterpart in the first American period of settlement and cultivation; aspects such as large-scale ownership and operation, specialization, mechanization of some labor operations, use of seasonal migratory labor, encouragement to immigration to provide an abundant labor supply, and use of cheap foreign labor. All of these had appeared in California agriculture by 1870.

WATER GRANTS FOR EDUCATION AND PLANNED OPEN SPACE—NEW USES FOR RECLAMATION

(By Paul S. Taylor)

[Paper delivered at Symposium on "Water and Man," meeting of American Association for Advancement of Science, Berkeley, Calif., June 23, 1970]

Water development, like land development, is not unplanned as may appear. Someone plans and someone develops. When we speak of "unplanned" development, probably we mean the absence of public planning and imply our dislike for the patterns produced. Behind this dissatisfaction with results may well lie dissatisfaction with the motivations that guided and impelled those who did the planning and the developing. Evidently this is what moved Karl Belser, retiring recently as planner of Santa Clara County, California, to plead his "frustrations and anxieties" in face of the power of private "speculation and greed." (Cry California, Vol. II, no. 3, Summer 1967, p. 10)

The language of today's market place reveals motivation in the raw. An advertisment in the San Francisco Chronicle of April 21, 1970 makes the appeal to readers in advance of the coming of water:

"Make your money grow in the booming Antelope Valley in sunny Southern California . . . Everyone knows about the tremendous growth in real estate values in Southern California . . . and many experts believe that population and industry growth projected for the future will bring even greater increases in Southern California land values. We believe that land in such selected growth areas is a good and safe investment and offers great profit potential for investors."

Another advertisement in the same newspaper on June 16, 1970 is critical of these speculative aspects of the California Water Project. It charges that "huge corporations have been busily buying up California land" in anticipation of "spectacular increases" in land values. "Just five large companies," the ad claims, have acquired 380,200 acres that already "have appreciated in value by a total of $218,970,400."

The issue is old and perennial, not new. Long ago, at President Theodore Roosevelt's founding Conference on Conservation in 1908, the assembled Governors asserted in what Gifford Pinchot calls "this pregnant sentence," that "the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the People, and monopoly thereof should not be tolerated." Conservation required enlargement of the sphere of public action, and control over private action. In this spirit a half dozen years earlier, Congress already had placed a limit on individual private shares of public water developed under reclamation law as a quantity sufficient to irrigate 160 acres. Private monopoly of water was not to perpetuate and enhance private monopoly of land. In the mid-forties when giant landowning interests mobilized to scuttle this exercise of public control, Secretary Harold L. Ickes called it the "age-old battle over who is to cash in on the unearned increment in land values created by a public investment (in) great irrigation projects." It was a battle over who was to guide development of public waters, reap its harvest, and plan the environment this development would create.

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[19] Quoted by Varden Fuller in exhibit 8762–A, pt. 54, p. 19802.

[20] Davis, Horace. "Wheat in California," Overland Monthly, I (November 1868), 450, quoted by Varden Fuller in exhibit 8762–A, pt. 54, p. 19803.

Voices continue to be raised from time to time. Marion Clawson, battle-scarred veteran of the 160-acre battles of the forties and later Director of the Bureau of Land Management, declared recently: "I deny the contention that property owners have an inherent right to majority gifts in property values at public expense." The National Advisory Commission on Urban Problems, after detailed inquiry, came to about the same conclusion. Only last year, Alexander B. Adams, Chairman of the Board of Governors of The Nature Conservancy, regretted in his valedictory that "Our water and air are still polluted, our land is being chewed up by highways; real estate speculators strike at our most treasured locations; and as the tempo of destruction has increased, the tempo of conservation has not moved as rapidly." Nature Conservancy News, Autumn 1969, p. 8) Major General Jackson Graham pithily challenged the right of uncontrolled private speculation to shape the course of water development: "Is a man entitled to buy up, settle, or promote a chunk of desert and then demand that his government bring water to him from the general direction of the North Pole?

These questions are critical: Who plans? Who develops and with what motivations? Who, if anyone, attends to the public interest?

With these questions in mind, let us see what the rearview mirror of history can reveal. The experience of the past with water (and land) development is rich. It makes readily visible the motivations of those who planned and developed, the cross-currents in the process, and the results.

Land and water were boundless resources when our seventeenth century European ancestors landed on the shores of the New World. From their own immediate necessities they understood that these resources were for people, and that their distribution among people—whether divided among the many or the few—would shape and determine the quality of their society. They understood that private speculation was an unsatisfactory guide to development and sought continuously to control it. Yet somewhere along the way since, we have forgotten what they knew from intimate personal experience. This is the situation especially in the arid and semi-arid West where water is not boundless but scarce, where water monopoly is rising upon the foundations of historic land monopoly, and where the public's participation in the revenues from its own investment is severely limited. Clawson's harsh observation sits only too well: "The more the public spends for public land improvements, the more values it creates in the land, and the smaller the proportion of its outlay does it recover." The less, also, does the public plan the environment created by development of its own resources.

Early in the nineteenth century, when people's pressures were building towards a Homestead Act, Congress took note that "independent farmers" "constitute the bone and sinew and the strength of your government." Daniel Webster, celebrating in 1820 the bicentennial of the landing of the Pilgrims, declared that "their situation demanded the parcelling out and division of the lands: and it may be said fairly, that this necessary act *fixed the future frame and form of their Government* . . . the consequence . . . has been a great subdivision of the soil, and a great equality; the true basis, most certainly, of popular government."

Forty-two years later, Congress wrote Webster's principle into the Homestead Law, allotting quarter-sections to those who would occupy them. But something went awry as the westward migration reached the 100th meridian and rolled toward the Pacific Coast. Water in the West was scarce and separated from land, not joined to it by Nature as in the East and Middle West. The works of man were required to unite water and land in time and in place.

What went awry was not by the intention of people and of their Government. In this new setting Congress sought to preserve the principle of our ancestors, viz., to assure the equitable participation of people in water development. The reclamation law of 1902 is clear on this point. As noted before, it limits to an amount sufficient to irrigate a quarter-section, the quantity of water that legally may be given to any individual. The United States Supreme Court unanimously confirms its constitutionality and approves its spirit in these words: The purpose of the limitation is "to benefit people, not land."

But reclamation law as written on the statute books and as it is administered in practice is not the same; the disparity between them is astonishing. In 1964 Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall confessed mildly that "on occassion" administrators, and even Congress itself, had "exhibited a degree of concern for the excess land owner which may be difficult to reconcile with the policies embraced by the excess land law." The National Academy of Sciences in 1968, through its National Research Council Committee on Water reinforces Secretary Udall's confession. It warns that the formal decision-making process developed by administrators for sifting and judging reclamation projects is deficient precisely because it proceeds "regardless of who receives benefits or who is adversely affected." The "distribution of benefits among persons and among areas," it adminishes, has been "too long neglected." The "distributional effects of water decisions" are omitted from the methods of "systematic analysis" currently employed to evaluate water project proposals. These "distributional effects" upon people and upon areas must receive "explicit consideration."

How does it come about that administration of law becomes so distorted that its fundamental principle is forgotten and its potentialities for serving broad public purposes and for creation of an environment of quality go unrealized? The answer depends upon who, in actuality, guides the planning, and upon the controlling motivations. In California, as an example, the answer comes clear through examination of the long experience of past and present.

In 1874 a federal Commission assigned to explore the feasibility of irrigating California's Central Valley, made public report. Its gist was this:

"Large bodies of fertile land in the great valley of California . . . are favorable to artificial irrigation." There is an "abundance of water . . ." The "value of land in the driest districts will be appreciated many fold." Experience appears to prove that "no extensive system of irrigation can ever be devised or executed by the farmers themselves," "there is no reason to suppose that for a long time capital will look upon this kind of investment with favor." It "is the duty of government, both State and national to encourage irrigation." (House Ex. Doc. 290, 43d Cong., 1 sess.)

The report pointed out specifically that "between Visalia and Bakersfield, and south of this town . . . the United States own many thousands of acres of land which has no value, except for pasturage during part of the year; that, if irrigated, its value would be increased many fold; that under these circumstances it may be a question whether the United States ought not in some way to encourage the irrigation of these lands."

In the Valley publication of the Commission's conclusions was electric. A local newspaper reported in 1877 that "no one would believe that shrewd, calculating business men would invest their money on the strength of land rising in value while unimproved, for even the farmer himself has to abandon it who endeavors to add to its value without water. At the same time purchasers are not lacking who would add it to their already extensive dry domain and the people . . . will find themselves confronted by an array of force and talent to secure to capital the ownership of the water as well as of the land, and the people will at last have it to pay for."

This gives us a glimpse at the beginnings, as seen by contemporaries. Historian Paul Wallace Gates certifies to the linkage between past and present. The "compounding of errors in the management of public lands in California," he writes, "contributed to a concentration of ownership of arable land that exceeded anything to be found elsewhere in the country . . . The seemingly never-ending and insoluble controversies over the 160-acre water limitation of the Reclamation Act of 1902 and the long sustained bickering over various features of the Central Valley development largely stem from the concentration of land ownership the nineteenth century bequeathed to later generations."

In the southern and western San Joaquin Valley, which includes the area identified by the Visalia Delta newspaper in 1877, a study by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1947 showed 34 land holders, mostly corporate, owning three-quarters of a million acres.. This area is almost the size of the State of Rhode Island. The same study showed delivery of water to lands within the area at less than 25 percent of the cost to the government of delivering it. An earlier State study of landownership in Southern California showed 33 owners of 3.8 million acres of land, irrigable and nonirrigable alike. In both areas concentrated landownership survives to this day.

The strength and persistence of large landholders' opposition to public antimonopoly control over water development testifies to their conviction of a deep division between private and public interest. Their open opposition to the 160-acre law that appeared as early as 1905, continues undiminished to this day. A brief cataloging of some of its more conspicuous phases and tactics can illuminate this sense of division of interest.

A few projects—two or three—were specifically exempted from acreage limitation by Congress. Interior Department approvals of these breaches of national policy were supplied by subordinates during absences from his desk of Secretary Ickes, staunch defender of the water limitation. Two other high reclamation officials who were dedicated to support of the law under the New and Fair Deals—a Commissioner of Reclamation and his regional Director in Central Valley—were removed from the federal payroll for seven months by a rider to the 1949 appropriations bill, on the pretext that they were not engineers. Only the reelection of President Harry S. Truman saved these officials whose devotion to the law made them prime targets of the opposition.

The generous public subsidies afforded by reclamation law to private landowners were steadily enlarged. By the later forties, as an example, Central Valley irrigators were allocated 63 percent of reimbursable project costs and required to repay only 17 percent. The public policy controls within the law were as steadily attacked and an elaborate assortment of tactics developed to undermine and, if possible, to eliminate them. On May 13, 1944 Business Week magazine outlined four of the tactics. Two of these were defeated in Congress outright: one was to obtain an exemption of Central Valley Project from the 160-acre law. The other was to make use of the Army Engineers who originally were outside the excess land law: Congress repaired this omission in 1944. A third tactic was to pump groundwaters, hoping the excess land law would not be applied even though these waters were improved in quantity and quality by a reclamation project. Through lax administration "difficult to reconcile with the policies embraced by the excess land laws," to use Secretary Udall's words, this tactic has persisted to this day. It is under challenge in the courts. A fourth tactic described in 1944 was to "sidestep" the federal 160-acre law by having the State of California take over the project, "paying the entire bill." In recent words of Erwin Cooper, for eight years an associate of the State Department of Water Resources—in charge of the State Water Project—the State's Oroville reservoir is a "political reservoir" to circumvent the 160-acre law in the interest of large landowners, "especially the corporation-owned ranches, some of which contain tens—yes hundreds—of thousands of acres."

Each of the three branches of the federal government has been explored in the pervasive attack upon law and policy. The Supreme Court resisted; it supported the 160-acre law unanimous in 1958. Congress resisted outright repeal but shows signs of weakening if a face-saving device can be found. The "Engle formula" is suach a device, presently embodied in Senator George Murphy's bill, S. 1631. By returning a small portion of the public subsidy they receive under reclamation law, large landholders go scot-free of the law. The spirit behind the Murphy bill is best revealed in words of the author of the formula, former Senator Clair Engle, who told Congress:

"I grant you, you start kicking the 160-acre limitation and it is like inspecting the rear end of a mule: You want to do it from a safe distance because you might get kicked through the side of the barn. But it can be done with circumspection, and I hope we can exercise circumspection."

There the outcome remains in suspension in the legislative branch.

The attack upon the law through the administrative branch of government has been most successful of all. In practices the Interior Department ignores the 1914 Act of Congress that requires the Secretary to obtain agreements from landowners to dispose of their excess lands "before any contract is let or work begun for the construction of any reclamation project hereafter adopted." (43 USC 418) In a legal opinion written in 1961 the Solicitor of Interior quoted and emphasized this 1914 law. Yet barely three years later he told Congress that an owner of excess lands "must volunteer" and "has an unlimited time" to sign—or not to sign. (Solicitor's opinion M–36634; Westlands Water District hearing, Senate Interior Committee, July 8, 1964, p. 34.) At Westlands construction proceeds oblivious to the Act of 1914.

The Interior Department ignores the 1902 statute requirement that rights to the use of water may be sold only to "an actual bona fide resident on such land, of occupant thereof residing in the neighborhood." (43 USC 431) The Interior Department ignores the 1926 statute that no excess lands whose owners refuse to agree to the sale of their excess holdings as required by law, "shall receive water" from a reclamation project. (43 USC 423e)

On the west side of the San Joaquin Valley the Interior Department is spending upwards of a half billion dollars on a project three-fourths of the lands of which are in excess, and whose holders fail to agree to their disposal as required by reclamation law. The Comptroller General of the United States is an agent of the Congress, charged by law with reporting "every expenditure or contract made by any department or establishment in any year in violation of law." (31 USCA 53c) In his latest report on Westlands in the San Joaquin Valley, the Comptroller makes no mention of the expenditures by the Interior Department in violation of statute. He does take note in these words, however, of the absence of agreements to dispose of excess lands before receiving water:

"We believe . . . that the Bureau may have difficulty in obtaining recordable contracts from several ineligible landowners who own substantial acreage in the service area and that, therefore, 76 percent of the irrigable land in the Westlands service area may not become eligible for project water within 8 years. As of November 1968, three landowners who together owned about 25 percent of the acreage had not signed recordable contracts, although some of this land could be served by the existing distribution system if the land were owned by a eligible landowners" (Questionable aspects concerning construction and operation of the San Luis unit CVP, p. 16, Feb. 12, 1970)

Turning his back on the Interior Department's widespread failure to observe law, the Comptroller General invited the owner of "about 110,000 acres, or 20 percent of the irrigable land within the Westlands service area" to give its views. The views of the Southern Pacific, as may be surmised, are unfavorable to the 160-acre law. Its preferred device is the Engle formula, recommended by the Reagan Task Force on the Acreage Limitation Problem and now embodied in the Murphy bill. Remaining silent on the Interior Department's failures to enforce law, the Comptroller General suggests to Congress instead that it "may wish to consider the applicability" of the Murphy bill "to the San Luis service area." The effect of his suggestion, if followed, would be to remove public control over private speculation in the public water resource and the appropriations made for its development.

Greater concern over preservation of private speculation means diminished concern over preservation of environment. The San Luis-Westlands project is a clear example. The large landowners of that area have put down deep well pumps to mine the groundwaters as a tactic to escape the 160-acre law. They have avoided its application so far—with the help of cooperating administrators—but the physical effects on the environment are serious. The quality of the groundwaters is declining, crops are suffering, the water table is falling and the pump lift rising. A further result of this mining procedure, as conceded by the manager-chief counsel of Westlands Water District, is the "subsidence of the land at the surface at the rate of . . . only slightly less than one foot per year throughout the some 80 miles of the San Luis Canal right-of-way." (Ralph M. Brody, 1966 Senate Public Works hearing on appropriations for the fiscal year 1967, pages 839, 841.) Serving project water to the lands in question would help to check subsidence but their owners are unwilling to make them legally eligible to receive it, the Interior Department fails to enforce the law that would make them eligible and so check the subsidence, while the Comptroller General suggests that Congress may wish to follow the preference of the Southern Pacific, i.e., let them out of the law and give them water on their own terms.

A second example of environmental damage influenced by resistance to public policy as embodied in the 160–acre law is in the Sacramento Valley. There the Bureau of Reclamation gave diverters of water from the River 10.4 acre-feet per annum. This amount equals four times the average Central Valley water duty of 2.6 acre-feet per annum. Manipulation of this grossly excessive quantity of water enables large landowners to escape acreage limitation law. Their escape is at the expense of flushing water needed badly to preserve environment and water quality in the Delta and in San Francisco Bay.

One service performed by the persistent and pervasive attacks by private speculators upon the law and policy designed to control them is to make it easier for the public to grasp the magnitude of the rewards at stake, and to decide to whom these should go .

Water is a public resource. The money that finances its development is public money. The environment created by that development surrounds the public that lives within it. Public interest should guide development, not private pressures that destroy policy. The time has come to modernize the 160-acre statute, but not to destroy it.

This law dates from 1902. It remains a good defensive declaration that public purpose is superior to private speculation as a guide to development, but it requires reorientation to fulfill public purposes clearly visible today. Besides, good administration require both integrity and vision. Fresh perspective is needed.

The national interest is at stake in western reclamation, not alone a regional interest. The water is a national resource, and the law, policy and money that guide and achieve development. While the site is local, an even larger number of Americans are moving west into the environment that development creates. The attack by western speculative interests therefore is an attack upon national public interest.

The historic national tradition that guided our disposal of public land furnishes clear precedent to guide our current disposal of public water and money to finance and subsidize that disposal. The subsidy is substantial, ranging from something like $600 to $2,000 an acre. This does not include the incalculable incremental values that flow from public development of the public water resource. He who receives these receives an extremely generous gift.

When our Nation gave away its public lands, it earmarked a generous share for education. The Bureau of Land Management reports that between 1803 and 1966 more than 94 million of the 228 million acres given by the federal government to states were donated for educational purposes. The impetus given to higher education by the Morrill Act signed by President Abraham Lincoln is well known, and is in addition to the gifts to common schools as well. This record of our past affords testimony to the magnitude of what comparable "water grants for education" could achieve today.

Speaking for educators, the National Education Association recognizes the opportunity. Tracing precedent to the Northwest Ordinance of 1785 the statement of the NEA declares:

"We believe that the acquisition of large areas of arid and semiarid land by large corporations with the obvious intent to irrigate it by water developed at public expense to be a clear violation of 'The National Reclamation Act of 1902.' This act specifies, 'No right to the use of water for land in private ownership shall be sold for a tract exceeding 160 acres to any one land owner . . .' All land of this nature should be purchased by the Secretary of the Interior and sold at the pre-water price in conformity with the 160 acre per individual owner regulation. This is not alone the problem of those States with arid and semi-arid areas. Tax dollars from all the citizens of the United States were used to provide the water for irrigation and the disposal of the irrigable land should be available to the public and the revenues from the operation should be returned to the public coffers. In keeping with the tradition established by the 'Northwest Ordinance', the 'Morrill Acts' and others it would be most appropriate to direct the revenues to satisfy a pressing public need, the financing of public education." (February 25, 1970)

Conservationists, like educators, recognize the need to modernize reclamation law. The Sierra Club supports "federal purchase" of reclaimed lands in excess of 160 acres per individual owner "with the understanding that lands so purchased would be sold or leased under open Space regulations." The National Wildlife Federation states its belief that "a groundswell of public opinion is developing for support of strong enforcement of the Reclamation Act . . . we (favor) . . . a strong policy which will permit the Government to acquire from landowners those properties in excess of 160 acres. We would support a program for Federal purchase of excess lands divested by owners on reclamation projects, particularly if the funds accruing from resale are used for education and conservation." (December 4, 1968.)

The concept that government should purchase excess lands prior to construction of reclamation projects is well-established. As early as 1892 Governor Toole, of Montana, proposed that the public "first acquire title to" lands to be reclaimed. An article of that year in Harper's Magazine warned of "gigantic schemes to secure not only the water, but the land it is to irrigate, and the water lords expect to reap fancy prices for the land from settlers in addition to rents which their great-great-great grandchildren may fatten upon." (Julian Ralph, Harper's vo. 85 pp. 93, 95.) In the Coolidge era a committee of distinguished citizens gave the practical operations of the reclamation program the most thorough review they ever have received. In their classic Fact-Finders Report they included this recommendation so visibly and urgently needed today.

"Disposition of private lands in excess of farm unit.—That no reclamation project should hereafter be authorized until all privately owned land in excess of a single farmstead unit for each owner shall have been acquired by the United States or by contract placed under control of the Bureau of Reclamation." (Federal reclamation by irrigation, S. Doc. 92, 68 Cong., 1st sess., p. 115.)

As recently as 1964 Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall proposed to Congress that the Government be authorized to purchase lands, but Congress has not as yet acted.

The technique of modernization is simple. Present law requires sale of excess lands at the pre-water, pre-project price. Government authorization to purchase will provide a ready market, and in turn allow the government to sell or lease with appropriate land-use regulations preserving agricultural greenbelts and open spaces and checking urban sprawl and slurb. Revenues from sale or lease can be assigned to public purposes including education, the land and water conservation fund, or simply to replenish the hard-pressed National Treasury.

The struggle continues to this day over the fruits of public investment to develop the public water resource—both financial and environmental fruits. On the private side stands the Reagan Task Force—Murphy, Packwood, Tower, Hansen, Fannin bill to destroy by stealth any possibility of effective public planning of the environment or public allocation to education and conservation of revenues from a huge public investment.

On the public side are the forces of organized labor that for a century have opposed private monopolization of national resources, whether land or water, and have steadfastly supported education. Beside organized labor and a varied assortment of citizen groups now stand organized forces of education and conservation.

The outcome is suspended in the balance. The stakes are gigantic, as both speculating private interests and informed citizens have known for a century. Will the recent activity of educators and conservationists be sufficient to tip the balance toward modernization of reclamation law to serve truly public purposes, and against its threatened emasculatity whether by administrators or by the Congress to serve truly private purposes?

L.T. MOTT
THE ASBURY
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384 - 8976.

August 15th, 1970.

Dr. Paul S. Taylor.
Department of Economics,
University of California,
Berkeley, Ca 94720.

My dear Dr. Taylor:

Enclosed please find copy of my original report to the Commission of Immigration and Housing of the State of California having to do with the housing and conditions of sanitation of Mexican migratory labor in the beet fields of Los Angeles and Orange counties in the Fall of 1917. As you will note, this report dealt to a large extent with Mexican imported labor, and I dare say was the first report of its kind ever made to a California State Agency. Please excuse its thumb worn and somewhat soiled condition - after all it is 53 years old and has been passed from hand to hand.

You are the top authority when it comes to the study of migratory labor in this country and I pass this report on to you to do with it as you see fit.

It was a great pleasure to meet again with you in Berkeley the early part of this week and I hope that our future meetings will not be so long apart.

With all kind wishes -

Sincerely,

L.T. Mott

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL
RELATIONS
DIVISION OF HOUSING

S. F.: EXBROOK 2-8302
L. A.: MADISON 1271
SACRAMENTO 2-4711

L. T. MOTT
SUPERVISOR OF HOUSING
STATE OF CALIFORNIA
501 INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BLDG. SAN FRANCISCO
STATE BUILDING LOS ANGELES
423 FORUM BLDG. SACRAMENTO

Retired as of April 1930

MEXICAN LABOR SITUATION

in the district South and East of Los Angeles and in the vicinity of Oxnard.

An inspection of Mexican beet camps in this district begun on September 17, 1917, showed that, with few exceptions, the housing and living conditions of the laborers were deplorable.

In the camps which I have inspected up to the present time there were living a total of 1083 people, or 779 men, 137 women and 167 children. Approximately 70% of the men were of the imported element brought in by the sugar beet interests to harvest the 1917 crop.

The larger camps were being operated by the following companies:

American Beet Sugar Company,
Los Alamitos Sugar Company,
Santa Ana Sugar Company,
Holly Sugar Company,

and these companies sought to excuse the miserable living conditions on the ground that the importation of Mexican laborers was an unforseen exigency and that they, the companies, had little or no time to prepare proper camps; furthermore, that they did not know of the requirements of the State Labor Camp Sanitation Law.

The three camps of the Santa Ana Sugar Company on the Hughes, Warren and Sterling Price ranches were the first visited, and your inspector found that there were 48 Mexicans of the recently imported type employed on these ranches and living and working under armed guard of the sugar company. It was represented that the guards were employed mainly for the purpose of keeping agitators away from the men. Furthermore, the company was under the impression that some such guard was necessary to keep the men so that they might be returned to Mexico at the end of the contract period. Inspection of the camps revealed the fact that practically no provision whatever had been made to house the workers. They were obliged to sleep on the ground or on dirty straw in sheds, outhouses and barns, and no bunks or bedding were furnished. However, our recommendations for the improvement of these camps met with immediate response from the company. Extensive improvements were made and ~~y~~our recent inspection, with Commissioner Gibson, showed that they are now being conducted strictly in accord with the Camp Sanitation Law. I mention these particular camps because they are typical, except for the armed guard feature, of the various other outfits in the beet fields. I inspected about ~~35~~ 30 camps of this class.

There were a number of desertions from the Cudahy Ranch of the American Beet Sugar Company, where 22 imported Mexicans were originally employed, and these desertions were admitted freely by the company as being due, and in fact were traced directly, to filthy camp conditions. The men deserted to, and are now working for, another sugar company operating a model camp nearby. Mr. Berry of the above company claimed that on account of these desertions there was a dead loss to his company of some $700. (The cost of importing a laborer from Mexico is between $50 and $60., depending upon the point of entry.)

In direct contrast to the above I would cite the instance of the model camp of the Holly. Sugar Company at Compton, L. S. Preston, Superintendent,- fifty imported Mexicans employed. The camp was made model 48 hours after inspection. There have been no desertions - in fact, laborers from Los Angeles have sought employment at the camp.

Summing up, I would say that the results of our camp work among the sugar companies have been most gratifying. We have met with general success and the officials of the companies have, without exception, expressed their willingness to cooperate with us in future camp work. They solicit any suggestions we may have to make.

However, there exist~~s~~ in this locality bad camp conditions over which the above named companies have no control. I mean small beet camps of from four to ten men who work for Mexican contractors. Of this class I inspected camps where there lived 150 men, 58 women and 66 children. At most of these outfits no camp equipment whatever was provided by the operator. Men were sleeping on the ground in the open and families were found to be living in primitive thatched huts. The results of our work among these small outfits were not as satisfactory as that in the larger beet camps, and it was deemed advisable that no action should be taken at this time to force compliance with the Camp Sanitation Law pending the outcome of the concentration camps plan.

EDUCATIONAL

One of the most striking features brought out by the investigation was the high degree of illiteracy among both the recently imported and longer resident adults, between 75% and 90%. It further developed that ~~85%~~ 35% of the children between the ages of six and ten were not attending school.

At the time of visiting most of the larger camps there had been imported by the sugar beet interests into Southern California some 1500 Mexicans. The wages range from $2.25 to $3.00 per day, the men paying 75 cents per day for board at the sugar companies' camps.

As to the necessity for importing these laborers in the first place, it is the opinion of your investigator that some such step was necessary to alleviate the temporary shortage caused by the exodus of some ~~3~~2000 laborers, some of whom had worked in the beets last season, to Camp Kearney, and 1200 to the Huntington Lake project in Fresno County. But, as to the advisability of continuing the importation of this Mexican labor, I would say ~~that~~, after careful study and observation of the situation, that any continued importation is absolutely unnecessary because it will tend to create a great oversupply of labor the coming winter. The Huntington Lake project, as well as the work at Camp Kearney, will soon be finished and it is well to bear in mind that the ~~4~~3200 men now working on these two big jobs alone will be ~~out of~~ seeking employment, not to mention the future of the laborers now engaged in agricultural pursuits. ~~This great army~~ Many of these of unemployed will flock, as is the tendency, to the larger cities, particularly those of Southern California, from whence they came, this winter, thus creating an oversupply of unskilled labor, and the result will be inevitable -- unemployment, destitution and misery. Therefore, instead of the continued importation of Mexican labor it would seem that the next logical step would be soon to deport the workers who were brought from Mexico to relieve a temporary shortage -- they will have served their purpose.

Respectfully submitted,

Leo L. Mott.

Inspector, State Commission of
Immigration and Housing.

Senator MONDALE. We stand in adjournment. I wish to thank all who contributed to these hearings.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m. the subcommittee adjourned.)

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